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Neptune's Grotto, near Livorno.

Published as the directors by Mellamy & Roberts 1 May 1791.

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A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
LATE REVOLUTION
IN
GENEVA;

AND OF THE
CONDUCT OF FRANCE TOWARDS THAT
REPUBLIC,

From OCTOBER 1792, to OCTOBER 1794.

IN
A SERIES OF LETTERS TO AN AMERICAN,

By FRANCIS D'IVERNOS, Esq.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

TRANSLATED FROM
TABLEAU DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE A GENÈVE.

Veluti in Speculo.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR VERNOR AND HOOD, NO. 10, BIRCHIN LANE;
J. EDWARDS, PALL-MALL; P. ELMSLY, STRAND,
AND J. DEBRET, PICCADILLY.

1795.

(PRICE ONE SHILLING.)



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Letters, of which the following sheets contain a translation, were addressed to an Inhabitant of *America*, much about the time when the United States were threatened with a Revolution, upon the same principles, with that which they describe, but which the spirit of the Government, and the enlightened zeal of the People repressed, before the unhappy experience of *Geneva* had shewn the real nature and ultimate consequences of it. They are the more worthy of attention, as the Author actually negociated, and signed the Treaty mentioned in the first letter, with General *Montesquiou*; and was an eye-witness to the first part of the Revolution, which the violation of that Treaty by the French introduced. To the present Edition, he has added some important facts, which either had not taken place, or were not known in *England*, when the former Editions were published, as well as some explanatory notes, which, he hopes, will not be thought unnecessary to an *English* reader.

When the Translator first read these Letters, he thought it would not be mis-spending his time, to employ a few hours, in giving those who do not understand the French language, an opportunity of receiving from them, some share of the pleasure and instruction they had afforded

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himself;

himself; and he was the more encouraged to undertake the task, as he observed an unusual concurrence of opinion in those who had read them, that a translation might, at the present period, be as useful, as the originals themselves are interesting.

In truth, the new political doctrines which have, for some time past, been propagated in *Europe*, are so well contrived to impose upon the imaginations, and to mislead even the virtues of those who listen to them, that it is not to be wondered at, if some, in this country, have received them with approbation, and at first perhaps have felt a wish to see them reduced to practice. To such, it is hoped that these Letters will be instructive, as they exhibit the result of the experiment in a country, in which it is impossible to say, that it was not fairly tried. They shew, as clearly as History can illustrate any proposition whatever, that the only object of those who propagate such doctrines, is, and ever will be, the attainment of their own selfish purposes; that *Liberty, Equality*, and the *Rights of Man*, are terms adopted by them, merely to gain credit with the People; and that every Revolution effected upon their principles, must end as that of Geneva has ended, by putting all the power and all the wealth of the State into the hands of a few, who riot on the spoils of their Country, while the *Sovereign People* is left to amuse the cravings of hunger, and the agonies of remorse, with the rattles of *Universal Suffrage*, and *perfect political Equality*.

It is true, that the scale on which the experiment was tried, is a small one; but it is, perhaps, on that account better calculated to shew the action of the several parts, and their connexion with each other.

It is certainly some excuse for the friends of the Constitution and the people of property in *Geneva*, that they were borne down by the irresistible weight of a Power which had previously determined, that no effort of theirs to preserve their Constitution, should be effectual. But no such apology can ever be offered for the people of this Country: if the Constitution, and with the Constitution, the Liberty of *Great Britain*, ever fall a sacrifice to the doctrines of *Jacobinism*, it must be her own fault. She has within herself a principle of security, which, if vigorously exerted, will enable her to ride through the storm, that threatens to wreck her neighbours. That principle is the active union, and steady co-operation of all ranks of People in the Kingdom, to watch with vigilance and repress with severity, the slightest attempt to introduce, under whatever pretext, or for whatever purpose, any part of that baleful system into it.

In so short a space of time as eighteen months did the Revolutionary Pestilence reduce the once-happy and flourishing *Geneva*, to a state of anarchy, misery, and depopulation, of which modern History affords no other example. And let not the people of this country forget that the first symptom of the contagion was the adoption
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and use of the term *Citizen*: from the familiar establishment of that term, it proceeded to the right of *Universal Suffrage*, which was soon followed by the Meeting of a *National Convention*, as the *Convention* was succeeded by a *Central Club*, and this *Central Club* by the erection of a *Revolutionary Tribunal*, which, after suspending the actual Government of the Country, and plundering, banishing, or putting to death, almost every man of property or principle within its reach, has at length established a system of despotism, whose wanton tyranny, and unprovoked cruelties, as completely refute the assertion, that the barbarities perpetrated in *France* are to be imputed solely to the combination formed against her, as the share taken by that Power in the petty Revolution of *Geneva*, exposes the impudent hypocrisy of the pretence, that she never interferes in the domestic concerns of other Nations.

London, Aug. 22, 1794.

SIR,

AN account of the melancholy events which have lately taken place in Geneva, naturally addresses itself to you. You have ever taken the liveliest interest in the affairs of that Republic, and are perfectly acquainted with the history of those long and painful exertions by which she originally acquired, and had, till now, preserved her Liberty. To you therefore a narrative of the manner in which she has, perhaps for ever, lost it, cannot be uninteresting; and may the fate of the most democratical, and, at the same time, one of the most happy States in the Old World, teach the inhabitants of the New, how feeble a barrier separates liberty from licentiousness, and how inevitably the abuse of a blessing leads to the loss of it!

I need not inform you, Sir, that, after a long struggle, the Constitutional Party at Geneva was obliged to yield, in 1782, to the irresistible power of the Count *de Vergennes*. That Minister took infinitely greater pains to crush democracy, at Geneva, than to establish it, at the same period, in America: his intrigues, however, were defeated, and he was obliged to resort to more violent means. Some of the troops which had served in America, marched into the town; and after driving away the principal defenders of our fundamental Constitution, erected on the ruins of it, not indeed an hereditary Aristocracy, but a form of Government, of which it is enough to say, that it required the constant support of foreign force, to maintain it against the declared aversion of by far the greater part of the people of Geneva. It was impossible, however, that such a system could last longer than the Minister who framed it; and accordingly, upon the death of *De Vergennes*, the very men whose ambition he thought he had been gratifying in doing what he had done, concurred almost unanimously in

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destroying

destroying it. Our ancient Republican Constitution was triumphantly restored; its advocates were recalled, and reinstated in their offices; and the long contest between the people and the administrative bodies, completely terminated in favour of the former.

This happy event was begun in 1789, and completed in 1791, and is in many respects one of the most important in our history. It restored the cordial union, which had formerly pervaded every part of the State.* Our commerce and manufactures flourished; and our University, the copious spring of all our past and present enjoyments, communicated a spirit of exertion and enterprise to the arts and sciences, which was not exceeded, in the most populous and extensive kingdoms. Such was, and such indeed had been the prosperity of Geneva, that, within the present century, our population had doubled, our wealth had increased in a ten-fold proportion, knowledge was very generally diffused, and foreigners saw with equal pleasure and astonishment, that in a district, whose inhabitants did not exceed thirty thousand, there were, at the same period, as many men of eminence in the arts, in
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* For all common purposes the Executive Power was lodged in two Councils, one of which, called the *Little Council*, consisted of 28 members, who, when elected, held their situations for life; the other, or *Great Council*, was composed of 250 members, who, by a law passed in 1791, were elected for seven years, and went out in rotation. The administration of justice was entrusted to the *Little Council*, under the direction of 4 Presidents or *Syndics*, annually elected out of it, and subject to an appeal in most cases to the *Great Council*: but the supreme sovereign authority of the State resided wholly and exclusively in the *General Assembly* of the People, which was composed of such as inherited or had purchased the title of *Citizens*. Such descendants of foreigners as were not entitled to the privileges of that character, were called *Natives*, and, by a law passed in 1791, might be admitted to them on payment of a small fine; but the number of citizens by birth was so great, and the fine by the payment of which the natives became citizens, was so inconsiderable, that nearly three fourths of the Genevese who were of age, and in solvent circumstances, were members of the General Assembly.

This sovereign Body, thus composed, possessed the whole legislative power of the State: it elected all the magistrates, all the officers of State, and all the members of the two Councils; it made peace, and declared war; it ratified treaties with foreign Powers, and imposed taxes. But at the same time it exercised these important prerogatives
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polite literature, and in science, as in any one of the three northern kingdoms of Europe : Such were the consequences of freedom and a good system of education.

But this pleasing prospect was of very short duration ; and our liberty had hardly begun to recover from the blow it had lately received, when another attack was made upon it from the same quarter, but under a different name ; it was made under the sacred name of *Liberty* itself, and with it has, I fear, for ever destroyed all the respectable qualities, and elevated virtues, which nourish and support it. In short, the French had no sooner resolved, in 1792, to attack the King of Sardinia, than we received intelligence from Paris, on which we could depend, that General *Montesquiou*, who was to command the expedition against him, had received secret orders, of a nature very hostile to Geneva. These orders were given by the Brissotins, who, it is well known, had projected a plan of surrounding France with a *zone of Republics*, formed on the same principles with itself. Savoy was destined to form one of those Republics, and Geneva was to be a capital of it ; an honour, which it was to purchase, at the expence of its own newly-recovered Constitution.

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under restrictions which prevented the inconveniences naturally arising from so democratical a Constitution ; for it could be convened by none but the Syndics and the two Councils ; it could enter upon no business but such as they laid before it ; no business could be laid before it which had not previously been discussed and approved in each of the Councils ; and finally, it had no power but of simply assenting to, or dissenting from, what was laid before it, without modification, and without debate.

Such was the Constitution of Geneva, when the attack which is the subject of the following narrative was made upon it ; and such it had been ever since the reformation, with the exception of such momentary interruptions as naturally happen, and are to be expected, in a State where almost every member of the community has, and any member of it may easily have, a share in the Government. The salutary restrictions and judicious modifications which I have mentioned, had by degrees ripened the Constitution of Geneva into what Rousseau thought the *sublimest work of political wisdom* which the world had ever seen. The French affect to idolize the memory of Rousseau, in whose opinion "*the most perfect liberty is dearly purchased by the effusion of a single drop of blood.*" What would he have thought of his worshippers, had he lived to see the object of his greatest reverence, and most affectionate attachment, made the first sacrifice on the bloody altars of a system of which they call him the author ?

The Swiss, our ancient and faithful Allies, prepared to share our danger; and the moment they were applied to, sent 1600 men to our assistance. Indeed no time was to be lost; for General Montesquiou advanced towards Geneva the very day after that on which he entered Savoy. His orders (which have since been published) were, that, *as the possession of Geneva was essential to the security of Savoy, he was to enter it, (by force if necessary) and take 20,000 muskets which were in it, and of which the French Republic was in need.**

Our Allies, however, had time enough to throw themselves into the town, before the French had completely surrounded it. On the 5th day of October 1792, the Deputies, whom we had sent to enquire into the cause of this unexpected attack, were told by the French Commander, "That the Government of Geneva had insulted the French Republic, by calling in the aid of the Swiss, to repel an attack which was never intended to be made, and which nothing but that step had suggested; that the Magistrates of Geneva were (perhaps without meaning it) the abettors of the enemies of France, and (as a proof of their ill-will towards her) had permitted some of the Emigrants to settle in Geneva, and others to pass through it, in making their retreat into other countries."

To this charge our Deputies answered, that distrust is the only security of the weak, in their intercourse with the strong. They appealed to a letter written by one of the French Ministers several days before the application to the Swiss, in which, without seeming to think it probable, or even possible, that the Genevese would make any resistance; and as if his intention had been to prepare them for submission,

* The letter of *Servan*, the Minister at War, dated October 3, 1792, concluded with these words:—*If you are told that these muskets are necessary for the defence of the town, you may remove their apprehensions, by leaving them 4 or 5000 men to take care of them. You may thus convert Geneva into a barrier of the Republic.*

In a letter written but four days before, he ordered Montesquiou to march towards Geneva, *in order to give freedom of action to the friends of Liberty, who were in considerable numbers there, and to establish a form of Government suitable to their wishes.*

mission, he informed them of the resolutions taken against them.—They justified their application to the Swiss, by many precedents; and shewed, that whenever Savoy became the scene of war, Geneva had always claimed, and as regularly received, their assistance; that the right of taking that step, which, after all, was only a precaution to prevent possible evil, was acknowledged in many solemn treaties, of which France herself was the guarantee, and had never given offence to any of her Monarchs, not even to Lewis XIV. in whose reign it had been resorted to, as often as was thought necessary; and as a farther proof of the innocence of our intentions, they reminded the General, that we were at that moment the only sovereign State which had acknowledged the French Republic; that, at the very beginning of the Revolution, we had opened our granaries, for the relief of one of their districts, against the pressure of a scarcity, to which we ourselves were equally exposed; and that, when that district was apprehensive of a kind of counter-revolution, and had applied to us for assistance, we had furnished it with arms, which so far from being returned to us, as had been solemnly promised, were now to be employed against us.

These arguments, unanswerable as they were, would have been of little avail, had they not been supported by all the influence, and all the abilities of the upright and honourable man, to whom they were addressed. In his report to the French Ministry, he stated the danger, as well as folly, of involving France in a dispute with the whole Helvetic Body, which would certainly exert all its force to repel an attack, that, considering the comparative strength of the two parties, would do so little honour to the magnanimity of the assailants. He represented this so strongly, that his orders were countermanded, and he was directed to negotiate an amicable arrangement, in which *he was to use his whole address against us, and at all events, to conclude the negociation in the same manner as if he had made himself master of the town by force, by leaving a French garrison behind him.* He again remonstrated, and at length received full powers: a treaty was concluded on the 22d of October, on terms equally honourable to both parties,
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by which, after stating, that the misunderstanding which had taken place between the two Republics, had been explained in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, it was agreed, that the French army should retire to the distance of ten leagues, and the Republic dismiss the troops of its allies.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the French Resident returned into the town, and in the name of the nation he represented, gave us the *most solemn assurances of unalterable friendship*. In consequence of these assurances, we not only ratified, but had actually begun to fulfil the treaty on our part, when we were informed that the French Ministry refused to sanction it, unless some clauses were inserted, which Mr. *Geneft** was sent to negotiate. We were, as you may imagine, surprised at such conduct; but by the advice of our Allies, and on considering the nature of our situation, we accepted of the additional articles, and a new treaty was signed. But what was our astonishment, when we were again informed, that this second treaty, which *Le Brun*, the Minister for foreign affairs, considered as unexceptionable, and earnestly pressed the Convention to ratify, was, after many affected delays, violently attacked on the 21st of November, by *Brissot*, at the head of the Diplomatic Committee, and stigmatized as an *ignominious capitulation*? †
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* The same person who was afterwards sent in a public character to America, and who, if he is there still, will not deny the truth of these assertions.

† This treaty, this *ignominious capitulation* (as it was called), was signed on the 2d of Nov. by *F. A. P. Montesquieu*, *J. F. Prevost*, *A. Lullin*, and *F. D'Ivernois*, and begins with stating the circumstances that had led to the misunderstanding between the two Republics, and the measures taken to remove it. It then proceeds thus: "The Plenipotentiary of the French Nation declares, in the name of his Constituents,—that the country he represents, is equally incapable of fearing her enemies, or of making a bad use of victory; and considering how recently she restored, in the very moment of conquest, a conquered nation (Savoy) to itself, it is unreasonable to suspect her of any intention to attack the liberty of a nation, to which she was bound by ties of alliance. Those calculations of comparative strength, which Despots are so much in the habit of making, and by the result of which they are induced either to attack, or to desist from attacking their neighbours, will never be resorted to by a people which has founded its own Rights upon the broad and comprehensive basis of the *Rights of Man*, The French Republic
" has

The consequence of this attack was, that the Convention refused to ratify it, and by a short decree peremptorily required of us to *dismiss the troops of the Swiss by the 1st of December; in which case, it promised that those of France should respect our independence and evacuate our territory, if any part of it had been occupied by them.*

The language of Brissot on this occasion is perhaps the most striking instance afforded by the whole Revolution, of the real nature and genuine character of the principles on which the French conduct themselves, in their intercourse with other nations.

“ In truth, says he, the Republic of *Geneva* either has, or has not confidence in our integrity. If she has, she will be satisfied with our bare promise to respect her independence: if she has not, the formality of a treaty cannot add to her security. But whether she has or has not that confidence, *a free people must not suffer its honour to be called in question.*”—In another place he goes further, and says, “ *Geneva* must expect no peace, until *perfect political equality is naturalized within her walls.* She must expect no treaty with us but the introduction and establishment of our principles. Such is the revolution which
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“ has resisted the interference of other nations in her domestic affairs, even at the expence of her own blood: she feels therefore some degree of pride in declaring, that she has not the most remote intention to introduce her troops either into the town, or any part of the territory of *Geneva*. Nor does she mean to assume the smallest authority with her, or exert any kind of influence over her Government. If therefore, on the present occasion, she requires of the Magistrates of *Geneva*, to be contented with the means they have within their own walls, for defending the town, and securing obedience to the laws, it is because she considers that line of conduct as indispensably necessary for the preservation of the liberty of *Geneva*, as well as for the continuance of the neutrality which its magistrates have adopted, and which it is so much their interest to observe with scrupulous exactness. In short, the intentions and views of France, have been so often and so distinctly declared, that it is impossible a free people can doubt their sincerity. Tyrants only, and the abettors of tyranny, dare call them in question.”

“ The Plenipotentiaries of *Geneva*, on behalf of the Syndics and Council, declared, That having the honour to be the Magistrates of a free people, they neither now, nor at any future time, will acknowledge any judge of their conduct, but God and their Countrymen. They therefore,” &c. &c.

" we presume, which we feel it a duty to recommend to
 " *Geneva*. Undoubtedly *France* will never forget her
 " principle of not interfering in the domestic affairs of
 " other nations. But *France* must never forget her oath to
 " relieve all nations from oppression, and to inform all nations
 " of their rights. There must be a Revolution in *Geneva*, or
 " there will be a Counter-Revolution in *France*."

" The only question, therefore, for your consideration,
 " is whether a free people either can or ought to bind itself by
 " Treaties, and whether every Treaty is not as unnecessary
 " with Republics, as it is indecent with every other form of
 " Government which does not derive its authority immediately
 " from the People.* On the manner in which this question
 " is

* It is to be observed that, in this report, Brissot, after attempting to fix upon us as a crime, that we had included ourselves in the neutrality of the Helvetic Body, which he called an *ill-disguised accession to the combination of Despots*, urged against us with still more vehemence, the concern which the King of Great-Britain generously took in our affairs, at so critical a moment.

Lord R. Fitzgerald, the British Minister in Switzerland, had written from Berne, on the 8th of October, to the Syndics and Council of Geneva, assuring them of the good-will of his Britannic Majesty, and of his earnest wishes for the continuance of the tranquillity, liberty and independence of their Republic, which were so intimately connected with the quiet and happiness of the whole Helvetic Body. " And I have no doubt," continued he, " that his Majesty will entirely approve of the steps you have taken, which are justified by ancient usage and solemn treaties, and are so essential to the preservation of the neutrality observed by the Helvetic Union; a line of conduct to which, I am sure, you want no persuasions of mine to induce you to adhere."

Brissot commented on this letter, in the course of his report, in the following manner:

" The Aristocrats of Geneva have resorted to other stratagems. They have endeavoured (and not without success), to excite the Cabinet of London against us, and have procured a Minister Plenipotentiary to be sent to Geneva, to assure them, that the King of Great-Britain is interested in their situation, and approves of their conduct. Doubtless the people of Great-Britain will hear, with indignation, that its influence has been employed in protecting the aristocracy of a few intriguers, and in crushing the freedom of a whole people. Doubtless, it will call those who have dared to profane its name for such a purpose, to a rigid account. But be that as it may, the French Republic will not retract. The appearance of a King upon the stage will not terrify us; nor shall the farce in which he is to be introduced, retard our justice."

This part of the report was as much applauded as any other; and it is worth remarking that it was delivered in the Convention precisely two months before Mr. Chauvelin received orders to leave London.

"is answered, the fate not only of our own Revolution, but of those which are to follow it, will depend."

It is to be observed, that with a view to prepare the minds of the public for this Report, and to give an appearance of decency to so gross a violation of the Law of Nations, the Brissotin party had taken care, some days before, to obtain an order from the Convention to arrest *Montesquieu*, and to bring him to Paris, to answer for his conduct.*

Unfortunately, that part of their demands which related to the dismissal of the Swiss, it was no longer in our power to dispute; as our Allies had, on the faith of the two treaties, suspended their military preparations, and recalled the greater part of their troops. The necessity of our situation left us no choice; we consented therefore to the de-

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* This decree was the natural consequence of the boldness, with which he had, all along, reprobated their conduct towards the Genevese. Not satisfied with pleading their cause in his official correspondence with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he wrote in the following terms, on the 7th of October, to *Garat*, the Minister of Justice, of whom he entertained a better opinion than of his colleagues: "I conjure you not to follow the infamous example of Despotism; I call upon your pure and Republican heart, not to shut your ears to the indignant voice of an honest man. Exert all the vigour of real virtue in behalf of oppressed Geneva, and do not suffer our country to be disgraced by a wanton and abominable abuse of power."

In a letter of the same date, to *Vergniaux*, the leading Member of the Convention, he says, "I am acting a part equally dishonourable to my country and to myself. When I was ordered to negotiate with the Genevese, I thought that the first diplomatic act of the French Republic, should bear upon the face of it, the stamp of true greatness; I mean, moderation and justice. I laid out of my consideration, the comparative power, and strength, of the two nations: I raised Geneva, in my own imagination, to the level of France, and remembered only, that one free people was treating with another. The treaty was concluded, signed, and transmitted to Paris. With equal surprise and indignation, I learned, that the spirit, not of true greatness, but of childish vanity, had cavilled at some of the articles of it, and that I must propose alterations. I obeyed; and such was the confidence my former conduct had inspired, that those alterations were accepted. Yesterday, however, I received a letter from the Minister at War, directing me to make new preparations for hostility: again, I have obeyed, and I hope that the readiness of my obedience will silence the calumnies, which my enemies circulate, so industriously, against me. But will You, Sir, you who are a man of talents and virtue—will You suffer the infancy of a Republic, on which the eyes of the Universe

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parture of the rest, and flattered ourselves that our oppressors would be satisfied, and that we had now nothing more to apprehend.

But we were mistaken; a danger, much greater than any we had encountered, threatened us. General *Montesquiou*, having had the good fortune to make his escape, informed us, that it was the determination of the French Ministry, to leave no means untried, for effecting a Revolution at *Geneva*, on the same principles as that of *France*; and that we had no alternative but to anticipate them, or feel the consequences of their interference.

It was difficult for us to conceive, how we could make our Government more democratical, than it then was; since every free-man of *Geneva* exercised, in his own person, those powers, which the *French*, from their numbers, had been

“are fixed, to be polluted by the foul perfidy of Courts? Will you disgrace your darling Country, by the scandalous repetition of the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb? Will it add to our honour, or to our power, to crush the feeblest of our neighbours, to violate the most sacred rule of universal justice, and to plunge ourselves into an additional war? If I can avert such a disgrace from my Country, by awakening the feelings of an honest man, I shall do a virtuous action, and you will be worthy of the name of Frenchman. I am alarmed, and distressed, at the thought of being made the instrument of an act of perfidy, which the Ministers would never have thought of, had they known the whole truth; I call upon you, Sir, whom I know to be a man of honour, to declare it to them, &c.”

He had already given the Ministers his opinion of their conduct, in the most unequivocal terms. It is, said he, the exact counterpart of that of the Duke of Brunswick; and your instructions, a mere copy of his Manifesto. This reproach was too just, not to be deeply felt, and as deeply resented: he was immediately accused, in the Convention, of having betrayed the interests, and sacrificed the honour of his country, in the treaty he had negotiated with us; of having chained down the valour of his troops, and disgraced the French name, by granting terms to the Aristocrats of *Geneva*, which a handful of his countrymen had refused to Brunswick, and his numerous cohorts.

Not a single voice was heard, in the Convention, in his favour, nor did any friend dare to inform him of the danger that awaited him. Happily the indiscretion of the messenger who was sent to seize him, gave the Genevese an opportunity of making him some return, for the services he had rendered them, by facilitating his escape, which he had the good fortune to effect on the 14th of November. See *Mémoire Justificatif pour le Citoyen François, A. P. Montesquiou, Général de l'Armée des Alpes, adressé au Président de la Convention, Novembre, 1792.*

been obliged to intrust to representatives. But unfortunately for us, the Brissotins, who then were the prevailing party at *Paris*, had lately succeeded in removing the distinction between *active* and *inactive* citizens; and repealing the law which reserved the civil and military offices of the country, as well as the right of electing to them, to those who had some property in it; a wise and salutary principle, and which, if it had been steadily maintained, would, undoubtedly, have prevented a great deal of the misery and distress, which the violation of it has brought upon *France*.

But having destroyed that important distinction in their own Constitution, the Brissotins soon found out an effectual mode of overturning it in ours; for as, by our Constitution, none were admitted into the General Assembly, but such as inherited, or had acquired the title of *Citizen*, they raised a clamour against that distinction, and branded the Assembly itself with the epithets of *aristocratical* and *hereditary*, which they had contrived to make so odious. So far, however, was that Body from deserving those epithets, that, as has been already mentioned, more than two thirds of the Genevese were, at that moment, members of it, and any of the rest might be admitted into it, upon payment of a fine so small,* as in fact to be below the rate necessary for securing the independence of an elector, much more of a member of the Legislature itself.

The *Natives*, who, as I have already observed, were at Geneva what the class of *inactive Citizens* was in France, had, on the late invasion, shewn themselves extremely zealous in the defence of the Republic: and, indeed, with the exception of about fifty individuals, partly Citizens and partly Natives, who on the approach of the French had basely deserted their posts, on pretence that, as friends to liberty, they ought not to oppose them—with this small exception, all the Genevese breathed, on that occasion, the same affectionate attachment to their coun-

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* In favour of the children of aliens born at Geneva, this fine was by degrees reduced to about six pounds sterling, and was part of the funds of the hospitals, the arsenals, and other institutions of public utility which had been founded by the Genevese in former ages.

try, and were all animated with the same intrepid resolution of dying in its defence. Indeed, the patriotic spirit shown on that occasion, is one of the most brilliant, as I fear it is one of the last instances of the display of that virtue, to be found in our history ; for, no sooner was it understood that war was declared against us, for having passed the first decree, by which Government had been directed to call in the 1600 Swiss, than a second decree was made, and sent, by order of the General Assembly, to the French General, by which it was empowered to call in, as many more, as it might think necessary ; and, on being informed, that the French Ministry affected to treat those decrees as contrivances of our magistrates, who, they insisted, should be punished for such *perverse* and *traitorous* behaviour, the whole body of our national militia met, in arms, on the 10th day of October, and communicated to those Magistrates, its entire approbation of their conduct, together with the most solemn assurances of the firmest support.*

But the plan of our invaders was now changed, and measures, less violent, but more sure, adopted ; which have completely succeeded in destroying the liberty and happiness of Geneva. No sooner did the Natives discover, from what passed in the Convention, as well as from other

* The Magistrates showed themselves worthy of the confidence, and attachment of their fellow-citizens. They immediately wrote a letter to *Le Brun*, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which, after fully disproving every charge brought against them, they offered their own lives and fortunes, if such a sacrifice would preserve the independence of their country : “ nay,” said they, “ we will bless the hand, which takes them from us, if, by losing them, we can transmit, to our children, the liberty we have received, from our forefathers ; we will bless the hand, which, by sacrificing us, averts the storm that seems to hang over the Helvetic Body, and the French Republic, and saves the latter the indelible disgrace, of beginning its career, with the ruin of the country, which gave birth to the Philosopher, to whom she gratefully looks up, as to the author of her freedom : we will bless the hand, which rescues the age of liberty, from the mortification and ignominy, of seeing two free nations wantonly turning their arms against each other.” See *Recueil de Pièces authentiques pour servir de suite à l'écrit intitulé, An accurate Statement of the Proceedings of the French towards the Republic of Geneva*—London, 1739, sold by Debrett, Piccadilly.

other sources of information, that the French had given up all thoughts of punishing the Magistrates, or of taking possession of the town by force, and had, or affected to have, no other object than that of establishing the right of *universal suffrage*, and of procuring the admission of all the Genevese, without distinction, to the enjoyment of *perfect political equality*, than they began, in the most open manner, to echo the language of the Convention, and to assert their right to what it intended to give them. They also began, in imitation of the French, to address each other by the title of *Citizen*, to wear the Red Cap, to sing the favourite Parisian songs, and to make preparations for supporting their claims by force. In these views, some of the Citizens supported them; and either from motives of ambition, or from being themselves the dupes of the fascinating system of what has been called *the Rights of Man*, put themselves at their head. The soldiers of the French army, who were still encamped in the neighbourhood, fanned the flames; and some of the officers actually made secret offers of their assistance. Such, Sir, was the origin of that revolutionary delirium, the effect of which has been, gradually to introduce, among us, all the miseries of anarchy; and, in less than two years, has plunged our once-happy Republic into all the horrors, and all the crimes, which the fertile invention of Popular Tyranny can suggest.

The Magistrates, alarmed at this new kind of danger, which seemed to threaten, either the Constitution, or the political independence of the State, or perhaps both, resolved to secure at least the latter, and immediately published a proposal to admit all the inhabitants of the Republic, whether aliens or natives, that is to say, descendants of aliens, into the General Assembly, without distinction, and without fine; and to take the opinion of the whole Body, thus constituted, on the propriety of further alterations. This proposal, which was made by the Little and Great Councils, on the 1st of December, only wanted the assent of the General Assembly itself (which it would undoubtedly have received) to have the force of law; but in the mean time, the enemies of our happiness

piness took indefatigable pains, to represent to the Natives, how humiliating it would be for them, to receive, as a favour, what was their natural and indefeasible right, and which it was an additional insult to restore to them, by the forms of the very Constitution, that had wrested it from them.

This doctrine spread so rapidly, and took such root in the minds of the Natives, that without waiting for the meeting of the Assembly, which was fixed for the 6th of December, they ran to arms on the night of the 4th; and besides declaring themselves entitled to the rights in question, they insisted that, in order to secure the possession of them, every department of the State should be filled by individuals of their own party, and that a National Convention should be immediately summoned, for the purpose of introducing the new principles, into every part of the Constitution.

It is a certain fact, that this faction did not then amount to a fourth part of the inhabitants of Geneva; and our Magistrates have, more than once, been severely blamed, by those who either do not know, or do not advert to all the circumstances of the case, for not immediately dispersing it by force. The truth is, that nothing but the fear of the probable consequences, prevented their doing so: for, ever since the French had taken possession of Savoy, we had been completely surrounded by the territory of France; her troops, in direct violation, even of the last treaty, were still at our gates: the decree of the Convention, which ordered all the French Generals to relieve the people of every country from *the tyranny of oppression*, had just been received, and proclaimed, by the troops in our neighbourhood; the most violent of the Natives openly avowed their intention to take advantage of that decree, if necessary; and the French army only waited for the slightest appearance of commotion, to enter the City, where it was sure of finding many friends, and where, by its intrigues, it had in fact already established a sort of advanced guard.

It was under these circumstances, and in order to preserve, if possible, the political independence of their country,

country, that the minority of the Genevese gave way to the minority. The members of the Little and Great Councils voluntarily resigned their places to the chiefs of the new party, (most of whom were among those who left their posts at the approach of the French), and in resigning them, required no other engagement from their successors, than that they should maintain peace and good order, and preserve the independence of the Republic.* As this transaction, violent as it was, took place in a more quiet manner than the French army expected, it was disappointed in its hopes of a tumult, which had been the immediate object of all its cabals, and which would have given it an opportunity of entering the town, and, under pretence of assisting the oppressed, making us, in the end, a branch of their own Republic.†

In this manner, did the powerful Republic of France, in its very infancy, disgrace its arms, by turning them against the petty Democracy of Geneva; and, in this manner, when it substituted negotiation for force, did it disgrace its diplomatic character, by expressly instructing its Minister, *to exert his whole address*, and by openly violating two solemn treaties, on the faith of which we had disarmed ourselves, and dismissed our allies. In this manner did it, in direct contradiction to its own principles, overturn a Constitution which was certainly the most democratical then known, and which had been adopted by the almost unanimous voice of those who lived under it: and in this manner

* The French made no secret of the importance which they thought the acquisition of Geneva would be of to them; and when they substituted the plan of intrigue for the former plan of force, *Anacharsis Cloots*, a principal character in the Convention, said publicly in his place, *that if Geneva persisted in refusing to give herself to France, they must try to persuade her to permit France to give herself to Geneva.*

† In order to take from the French every pretext for interfering any farther, the authors of the Revolution immediately announced the completion of it, by planting the tree of liberty. A symbol so little known to our people was purposely chosen, in order to contrast the system it represented the more strongly with that it had supplanted; but, as it also shewed, that the new system was perfectly established, and had no need of farther assistance, it in that respect disappointed the views of those who had contributed to introduce it. It was not *by accident* that the inscription of it was ambiguous—*This tree protects our city better than we can.*

manner was an inconsiderable State, which, in defence of its constitution, had dared to oppose force by force, condemned for that offence, by its vindictive neighbour, to fall a sacrifice to the basest treachery. As a part of the detestable plan, the French Resident waited immediately upon the new Magistrates, and informed them, that he would lose no time in announcing to his Constituents *the glorious event* which had just taken place; and, while he amused them with professions of admiration and esteem, General *Kellerman* secretly drew an additional body of troops round the town, in hopes of an opportunity of entering it.

The members of the new Government were now completely in possession of the administration; and notwithstanding the manner in which they had come into power, it is extremely probable that, like the party in France to whom they were indebted for it, they never would have engaged in such an undertaking, had they not been confident of being able to stop at whatever point they pleased, and to prevent their followers and adherents from going further than they wished or meant them to go: for, it must be allowed, that many of them were men of some property, and even of some education; and if we except a few acts of violence, done under the forms of justice, and naturally to be expected at extraordinary periods, and some enormities of the populace, which, there is reason to suspect, were committed at the instigation of particular individuals in Administration, they were in general active in their efforts to preserve the independence of their country, as well as its internal quiet.

It is equally true, however, that they had several considerable obstacles to struggle with. In the first place, they had to encounter the decline of trade and manufactures, the consequences of the ruin of such families as had invested their property in the French funds, and the incredible consumption of the public revenue, which was almost exhausted in salaries to the 120 members of the Convention, and to the new Magistrates, whose needy circumstances rendered a large allowance absolutely necessary. In the next place, they had to oppose the intrigues and artifices of
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the French Resident,* who caballed against them in the most open manner, and the contempt and distrust of Brissot's successors, who, while they loaded them with *fraternal embraces*, and other outward marks of affection, never would consider them as true confederates; and, notwithstanding their title of Revolutionary Government, treated them† with a degree of freedom, which they never dared to assume toward the other branches of the Helvetic Union, who, by steadily adhering to their ancient Constitutions, have never received, or exposed themselves to receive, the smallest mark of disrespect. Besides this, they had to fight against a new faction, formed out of the refuse of their own, and divided into two clubs, called the *Marseillaise* and the *Mountaineers*. These clubs were not very numerous; but they were notoriously under the influence and direction of the French Resident; both professed the new doctrines to their utmost extent, and both (but particularly the latter) seemed prepared to imitate the conduct of those who had carried them the farthest in France, and even to surrender themselves and their country into their hands.

So strongly, however, was the great body of the Genevese attached to the idea of national independence, and so grateful did they feel, even to the new administration, for its efforts to maintain it, that they forgave the manner in which it had come into power, and overlooked both the faults it had already committed, and those into which its incapacity, the violence of party, or the peculiar difficulties of its situation, daily and hourly led it. On more than one occasion, the very Magistrates whose offices they had usurped, came forward to assist and guide them; and

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* The Abbé Soularvie, who distinguished himself in France soon after the Revolution, by an obscene performance, called *The Private Life of Marshal Richelieu*.

† This was carried so far, that, for the sole purpose of increasing the distress which Geneva then felt from want of provisions, the French Agents constantly refused, under various pretences, to permit any supplies to be carried into the town from two small districts which belonged to us, and to which the road lay through the French territory, though the right of so doing was secured by numerous treaties. But I have heard that since the second Revolution (which will be mentioned hereafter) the prohibition has been taken off.

some of them were even prevailed upon, to become members of the new Convention, which met on the 25th of February, 1793, and was composed of 120 members. It sat for about a year, and unfortunately, like that in Paris, soon fell under the controul of a Club, which had borrowed both its principles and its language from the Jacobins, to whom it had applied for a copy of their rules, and forms, and whose importance it affected to assume, on all occasions.

During the sitting of the Convention, the friends of the old Constitution experienced, from the rabble of Revolutionists, every species of indignity, and insult, which the capricious malice of men without education, and without property, could invent. Those pretended reformers paraded the streets, in the evening, with cudgels in their hands, and attacked, and severely beat, such as they thought averse to their system: nor did the Government take any effectual steps, to prevent these excesses, which were continued, for a considerable time, and were never punished, though the country house of an Ex-Magistrate, who had been Commander in Chief during the late invasion, was pillaged for several days, and another person assassinated in open day-light, because he had worn a white cap, instead of a red one. It is unnecessary, and would be tedious, to enumerate all the mean cruelties which the disciples of the new school of Equality practised: it is enough to say, that a description of them would present a picture of Popular tyranny, as provoking by its insolence, as the scenes which succeeded them were shocking, by their barbarity.

Though the Convention affected to preserve some of the forms of the old Constitution, yet, in order to deserve the pompous name it had assumed, it thought itself bound to make a complete, and radical change in its principles; and in treating the petty abuses of a small Republic, to act as if they had been called upon to correct the inveterate corruptions, and deep-rooted errors of an ancient and extensive Monarchy. *Despotism*, said one of the leading members of it, *is a fiery meteor, which scorches the soil over which it passes.* Even such bombast as this had
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its effect upon the distempered minds of those to whom it was addressed, and was received with universal applause.

In order to ingratiate themselves with the French, one of their first steps was to abolish the Great Council, and to transfer a portion of the power of the Little Council to the General Assembly, by which means they destroyed the equilibrium between the executive and legislative branches, which the ancient Constitution had provided with so much care: but, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that, in the laws they framed, they shewed great regard to personal security, and even established the Trial by Jury. Perhaps, it would have been well to enquire, whether that noble institution (which one of the greatest nations of Europe considers as the most sacred of all its rights, and its best security for the enjoyment of the rest) is equally suited to so small a State, as Geneva, where it is so difficult to prevent the influence of personal feelings, and private considerations: but the introduction of it shewed, at least, the goodness of their intentions.

It must not be imagined, however, that a Democracy, so unlimited as this, was approved by the greater part of those who submitted to it. The People at large had not forgot the sound principles in which they had been educated; they knew perfectly well, that some degree of restraint is essential to the very existence of liberty, and were extremely attached to the balances of the Old Constitution; consequently every artifice was practised, that could secure the ratification of the New, by the General Assembly. The authors of it affected to assume the tone of friendship and confidence, towards those who, they knew, disapproved of it, and intreated them to give it their support, if not from conviction of its goodness, at least, to defeat the schemes of both the foreign, and the domestic enemies of the public peace, who, if it was rejected, would not fail to convert its want of success into an opportunity of creating general confusion; but more particularly for the purpose of disappointing the inferior agents of the Revolution, who began to shew a spirit of insubordination and turbulence, incompatible with any social order whatever, and only to be

repelled, by the appearance of union, and general submission to the new system. They assured them, that it would amply provide for the security both of the persons and of the property of those who were to live under it, which, in the present situation of the Republic, was of more importance than the preservation of any particular system.

This language was so specious, and was accompanied by promises, apparently so sincere, that they to whom it was addressed, though they still adhered to their principles, withdrew their opposition; and, for the sake of peace, or perhaps as choosing the least of two evils, agreed to support the new Constitution.

It was accordingly proposed, and adopted, in a General Assembly on the 5th of February 1794, by 4,200 voices against 200; and as a farther proof of the conciliatory disposition, and amicable intentions of those who supported it, the new offices were entirely filled up with its avowed friends. Nor was this all; for as the war, in which almost the whole of Europe was involved, had considerably affected the Watch-making business, which is the principal support of the poor in Geneva; and as the stagnation of trade, as well as the habits of indolence, into which a great many of the workmen had been thrown by the Revolution, had reduced the lower classes of the People to considerable distress, very general subscriptions were made by all those in easy circumstances, to keep them in employment until the market should be again open.

By such generous and disinterested conduct, the Republic seemed likely to weather the storm, which had wrecked her more powerful neighbour. The Swiss, who, for eighteen months past, had renounced every kind of official communication with us, thought they saw what the history of the world had produced no other instance of, the Government of a Country suddenly and completely dissolved, and Anarchy not the consequence. Astonished at such a phenomenon, they yielded to the repeated and earnest solicitations of some of the deposed Magistrates, and consented to correspond with their successors, who now assumed

assumed the title of *Constitutional Government*. In short, the new Administration seemed to gain strength every day, and to be better qualified for the discharge of their functions: even those who disapproved of the manner in which they had come into power, were ready to support them against every attack. The greatest part of those who had abandoned Geneva, for fear of the excesses, into which, it was natural to expect, that men unaccustomed to authority would run, gradually returned to it, and implicitly trusted to the assurances they received, that the Revolution *was completed*, and that they might depend on finding, under its protection, safety for their persons, and security for their property.

But, alas! the whole was a delusion; and in an instant, the malignant genius of France again blasted all our hopes.

An advocate of the name of *Bousquet*, who had taken an active part in the usurpation of 1792, and been elected a Magistrate, was soon afterwards sent in a public character to Paris. During his stay there, he imbibed from the leaders of the Jacobins (to whom his mission gave him constant access) all the poison of their principles, and returned, after a year's absence, to Geneva, full of theories of sedition and revolution, and impatient to put them in practice. With this view, he immediately joined the Marseillaise and the Mountaineers, whom he found perfectly disciplined, and prepared for any enterprise, by the industry of *Soulavie*. He immediately opened his plan, which consisted of five principal objects. First, to wean the lower classes of the people from the confidence they placed in such Members of the new Government, as had any character for integrity, by accusing them of being secretly leagued with the Rich, or at least of favouring and screening them: Secondly, to strip his colleagues, and even the General Assembly itself, of their authority, and to transfer all their powers to a few of his own partisans, under the title of *Revolutionary Government*; Thirdly, to erect a Revolutionary Tribunal, which would soon rid him of all those from whom he had any thing to fear; and by the resentment which the effusion of blood, as well as the

loss of their property, would naturally occasion in the bosoms of the injured, make the retreat of his partisans impossible: Fourthly, to adopt the French system of making *Terror the order of the day*, so as to carry it into every class and description of men, and make the smaller number masters of the greater: Lastly, to hold up the established religion as an object of ridicule and contempt.

The material parts of this plan, extensive and difficult as it seems, were executed in a single night. Indeed the author of it had no time to lose, as it was absolutely necessary that it should be carried into execution, before a proposal, then in contemplation, for laying another assessment on the people of property, could be made. For, as there was no doubt that the proposal would be received without opposition, the success of it would prevent any clamour being raised against that description of men, and, at the same time, restore to the Administration, some part of the vigour which it had lost, by its improvident management of the public finances.

This, therefore, was the critical moment; and *Bousquet* began the execution of his plan, by spreading reports of conspiracies to effect a counter-revolution, and to repeat at *Geneva*, the horrors which had been committed in *la Vendée*; and by taking every opportunity of declaring publicly, that, even though the Rich could be brought to consent to the proposed assessments, (which he strongly insinuated they would not) yet, in his opinion, there were means of relieving the miseries of the People, much more effectual, than that of exempting them from the payment of taxes. “The Rich,” he said, “had too long wasted, “in their own selfish pleasures, that which ought to be “applied to the maintenance, and comfort of the Poor; “too long had they been suffered to insult them by their “wanton extravagance, and even by the wretched pit- “rances of alms which they affectedly distributed. The “destruction of the pernicious spirit of Aristocracy, which “had pervaded the Laws and Constitution, would answer “no purpose, and would but palliate the evil, if it was “suffered still to influence the conduct and the sentiments
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“ of the Rich : nor would any thing short of complete eradication answer any useful purpose.”

The minds of the multitude being thus prepared, the night of the 18th of July 1794 (being the eve of the day on which the new assessments were to be proposed) was chosen for the execution of the plot. The whole plan was laid, all the parts were assigned, every agent was at his station, and the victims marked out : in the midst of the night, the Conspirators ran to arms, seized the artillery of the Town, and entered, by means of false keys, into the houses of such of the Citizens, as, they apprehended, might be inclined to oppose force to force, and disarmed them before they knew what was intended against them. To disguise their intentions the more completely, they put two of the new Syndics under arrest, who have since been anxious to have it believed, that the blow was so sudden as well as violent, that it was impossible for Government to ward it off, which it would not have failed to do, had it been aware of it in time. But there are not wanting men of very good information, and of unquestionable veracity, who assert, in the most unqualified manner, that the Magistrates were well acquainted with what was to happen, and wanted neither courage nor strength to prevent it, had they been desirous of it ; but that, in fact, the detention of the two *Syndics* (which lasted but a few hours) was a farce, contrived between them and *Bouffquet* ;* and though they had not taken a direct and active part in the execution of the plot, they were still to be considered as accomplices in it ; and, besides other reasons, knew that its success would relieve them, from the disagreeable necessity of giving in their accounts, and exposing the shameless manner, in which they had wasted the public treasure.

However this may be, it is certain that Government took no step to defeat the plot, or even to prevent the shocking lengths to which it was carried. From the nature of the attack, one would have supposed that the city had been stormed by a foreign Enemy ; but the systematic

* Indeed the two Syndics in question were actually seen, on the night of the 18th, in the foremost ranks of the conspirators, with arms in their hands.

tematic regularity with which it was conducted, together with the perfect knowledge the plunderers shewed, of the places in which the objects of their pillage were deposited, soon convinced the unhappy sufferers that their Enemies lived within the same walls, and, in many instances, under the same roof with themselves. The Conspirators were divided into small bodies well armed, did not affect to produce the authority by which they acted, left seals on what was too heavy to be carried off, and took care to include some of the poorer, and more obscure Citizens, among those whom they put into confinement. But with so little regard to humanity were these *domiciliary visits* conducted, that though the heat of the weather was excessive, the prisons were crowded with the aged, the infirm, the diseased, and even with some who were torn from their beds in the height of malignant fevers. This work of horror was executed in a few hours, by not more than a hundred wretches, one half of whom were foreigners; but it had the effect which *Bousquet* expected, and he was joined the next day, by the rest of the populace, by every man of unfixed principles or of desperate fortune, and by not a few of an opposite description, who vainly hoped, that by appearing to countenance what had been done, they might acquire an influence over the perpetrators, sufficient to prevent the execution of what was still intended.

Bousquet now collected all his associates together, and addressing them by the title of *Revolutionary Nation*, proposed, that a daily allowance should be paid to those patriots, who should persevere in the great work they had undertaken. He observed, that it was only by determined and vigorous measures, both at home and abroad, that the *French* had secured such brilliant success, in their glorious struggles against Despotism; that these measures, severe as they might appear, were as easily to be reconciled to pure morality, as to sound policy; and, both in their principle and in their effects, justified those, with which, he should propose to begin the reign of liberty, and virtue in *Geneva*. The Constitutional Government was then formally suspended, and the whole Executive and Legislative power of the State, committed to a *provisional Revolutionary Tribunal*, of which *Bousquet* was of course made

made President. The number of persons who were taken into custody, increased every hour, and by the industry of Soulavie, who had given orders in all the neighbouring French districts, that such of the inhabitants of Geneva as retired to any of them should be obliged to return, it soon amounted to near 600 persons; among whom were most of the Magistrates who had been deposed from their offices in 1792, many of the Professors, and almost the whole of the Clergy, a body of men who did honour to their country and to human nature, by their talents, their knowledge, their mild and tolerant spirit, and the spotless purity of their lives. Lest any of the latter should escape, they were pursued even into the churches, which, in spite of the threats they heard on all sides, of being treated as the priests had been treated in Paris, on the 2d of September, those venerable men had entered, for the purpose of imploring the mercy of Heaven upon their distracted country. In this manner, was the horrible sentence formerly pronounced by Brissot, fulfilled to its utmost extent: *There must be a Revolution in Geneva, or there will be a Counter-Revolution in France.**

In the midst however of these shocking scenes, some few circumstances shewed, that the native character of the Genevese was not to be depraved but by degrees. Some of the Revolutionists could not refrain from tears, when they were ordered to be the gaolers of their countrymen, and, in more than one instance, declared, that *they envied their situation, and, if possible, would gladly exchange with them.* But these, as well as many other expressions of regret and remorse, were of little avail to the unhappy victims, whose adversaries were too watchful to leave them any means either of escape or resistance. One generous effort, indeed, was made by the women of Geneva (for the experiment was too hazardous for men to engage in), who, to the number of two thousand, went in a body to the Revolutionary Tribunal, to intercede for them; but their tears and entreaties had no other effect, than that of exposing them to the brutal ridicule of the Judges, who ordered the fire-engines to be got ready, in

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* See p. 8.

order to administer what they profanely called, the rights of *Civic Baptism*.

This feeble obstacle being removed, the Tribunal eagerly entered upon the discharge of its functions, and ordered eight of the prisoners to be brought up to trial, in which number, express directions were given to include the Ex-syndic *Cayla*, who had distinguished himself by the intrepid spirit with which he had opposed the former Revolution, the Ex-counsellor *Prevost*, whose principal offence was, that he had taken part in the negotiation with General Montesquiou, and the Advocate *De Rochemont*.

The Tribunal sat in the Town Hall: the Judges took their places with the sleeves of their shirts tucked up, like butchers, their legs and breasts naked, sabres at their sides, pistols in their girdles, and bottles and glasses on the table. Some of the Judges could not support a sight so truly diabolical; two were taken out in a sort of fainting fit, and four others permitted to retire. The rest kept their places, and proceeded to the discharge of their functions, in the midst of drunkenness, low witticisms, and indecent buffoonery. *Add power to passion*, says an Author of great candour, when speaking of transactions in Rome, exactly similar to those I am now describing in Geneva, *add power to passion, and there is no wild beast so savage as man*.*

Although there was no direct charge against these respectable men, nor the slightest evidence produced of any plan of a Counter-Revolution, which had been the pretext for taking arms, nor any question asked, in any degree relative to it, yet the trial of the eight lasted till the next morning (the 26th of July); and on opening the ballot-boxes, in which the opinions of the Judges were collected, it was found, that only two, neither of them Magistrates, were capitally convicted.

When this circumstance was known, the Marseillaise and Mountaineers, impatient for blood, surrounded the Tribunal, with threats of vengeance against the perfidious Judges, who had acted so inconsistently with their former professions, and proposed to make an immediate massacre of

* Plut. in vitâ Ciceronis.

of all the prisoners. The Judges affected to be alarmed, and the next day returned to the Bench, and, amidst the clamours and howlings of the Galleries, gave their opinions, not by ballot, as before, but openly; the consequence of which was, that seven of the eight were condemned to die, by the very men who, but the day before, had acquitted six of them; and who, on both occasions, called the Almighty to witness the purity with which they gave their sentence.

The *Revolutionary Nation* to whom an appeal was reserved, immediately assembled, in arms, to consider the sentence of the seven persons condemned; and though, under pretence of purifying the Assembly, the leaders of the Revolution had carefully excluded from it, all whom they suspected, either of integrity, or humanity, there was still a decided majority for sparing the lives of *Cayla*, *Prevost*, and *de Rochemont*.

This third decision, so different from what they expected, increased the rage of the brutal Janisaries of the Revolution. They reviled it as the consequence of Aristocratical influence, and Aristocratical principles, and refused to abide by it.—They vented their execrations and menaces indiscriminately, and actually attempted to destroy two or three of their own party, who called upon the bystanders to support the sovereignty of the people, and not suffer it to be insulted with impunity. Nor was this all: they sent armed Deputies to the Tribunal, to complain that false patriots had artfully mixed themselves, on this occasion, with the real lovers of their country, and disappointed their hopes; to insist that the sentence of the three Aristocrats, who had been acquitted, should be annulled, and to declare, that, if this request was refused or delayed, they would repair to the prison, and do themselves justice.

The number of those who held this language was considerable, and their menaces frightful. They were all provided with arms and ammunition; it was night; and those who disapproved of their measures, were either too much terrified to oppose them, or too disunited and distrustful of each other to attempt it. These circumstances

were abundantly sufficient in the opinion of the Revolutionary Tribunal, to justify it in assuming a new Jurisdiction, and reversing the sentence passed by the people at large; * they instantly delivered up the seven prisoners to the executioners who came to demand them.

These illustrious victims died in a manner, worthy of the cause, in which they suffered, and with all the dignity which religion, innocence and virtue can give. They refused to have their eyes covered; and their murderers, instead of dispatching them all at the same shot, were careful to make a second necessary. *Cayla* was the only one who spoke; *I should die with pleasure*, said he, *could I hope that my death would restore peace and liberty to my unhappy country*. The executioners tore in pieces a written paper, which *De Rochemont*, a young Advocate of the most promising hopes, entreated them to deliver, after his death; to his family.—But *Prevost* contrived to drop a letter which

* On the next day, they published an apology for this part of their conduct, for which they acknowledged themselves responsible; yet, with impudent inconsistency, imputed what had happened to the machinations of those they called the enemies of the Revolution. This apology may be considered as a formal declaration of war against the rest of the Aristocrats, that is to say, of the people of property. It accuses them of *still persevering in their claims to superiority; of having refused to fraternize with the Revolutionists in the Civic Feasts; of anxiously wishing for a Counter-Revolution in France, as the prelude to a similar event in Geneva; of having expressed the warmest wishes for the success of the Rebels in Lyons; and of having concerted measures, to have the law, which was to make new assessments on themselves, rejected*. In this Manifesto, the Leaders of the Conspiracy, for the first time, threw off the mask; and, both by the style of the jargon in which it is written, and by the sentiments it contains, plainly shewed who were the real contrivers of the second Revolution; for they dwelt much on *the displeasure of the FRENCH*, which they said, *was occasioned by the timid and inconsistent conduct of the first Revolutionists, who, at the very moment they were boasting of having established the principles of Liberty and Equality in their Republic, suffered it still to be polluted by the residence of incorrigible Aristocrates*. They called upon the Revolutionary People, *in the sacred name of Fraternity, to beware of feeling, or indulging compassion; to put an end to the reign of criminal impunity; to rid their country of its perverse and ungrateful Children; and to put it out of their power, to raise their parricidal hands against her*.—The Tribunal undertook for itself, *to revolutionize principles and manners; to regenerate public spirit, to labour incessantly in forming establishments to prevent the introduction, or existence of distress among them; to form true Patriots; to prepare the way for Universal Happiness, &c. &c. &c.*

which he had written with a pencil, and which exhibits a striking picture of the calm heroism, and amiable tenderness of his disposition.—*No man, said he, loses so much in dying, as I do. I return my most grateful thanks to my dear Wife, for all the happiness, for which I have been indebted to her; and I intreat her never to forget, that her husband dies in the most honourable of causes; and, in spite of the delusion which occasions his untimely end, will be esteemed and regretted by all good Men.—My dear Mother, how little is the satisfaction You ever received from me, compared with the sorrow which has overtaken your venerable old age! Weep for your Son; but let it comfort you to recollect, that he always walked in the paths of honour. Honour has always guided him, and will guide him, to the last moment of his life.—And let not my unhappy fate, my dear Son, deter you from following my example. Let strict integrity, and an invincible attachment to your Country, be the rules of your life, though your father's adherence to them has shortened his days. But let me conjure You never to engage in public affairs, &c.**

Though one crime naturally leads to another; and though the experience of all History shews, that the blood which has been already spilt, is, with the savage multitude, a reason for spilling more; yet some people hoped, that its fury was satiated, or at least, that the *Swiss* would interpose, and prevent further horrors. But the bloody tragedy had been acted with too much expedition, and too much fury to give them time to interfere, even if their interference could have been effectual. This however did not prevent the *Bailiff* (or Chief Magistrate) of that part of the territory of the Canton of *Berne*, which lies nearest to *Geneva*, from writing a letter to one of the *Syndics*, to assure him that *the whole Helvetic Union saw with horror, and detestation, the preparations that were making*

* It may perhaps be necessary to inform the Reader, that this respectable man was one of the most able and intrepid opposers of the attempts, made by the Count de Vergennes, on the established Constitution of Geneva; and was the Magistrate, who, as Attorney General, proposed and carried the abolition of the form of Government, introduced by that arbitrary Minister.

making, for the effusion of blood, at Geneva; and to conjure the deluded people of that Republic, to recollect themselves, and desist before it was too late.

The Syndic to whom the letter was addressed, took care not to communicate it to the People; and, in his answer to the *Bailiff*, excused himself, by assuring him, *that it would have been dangerous to do so, as the determination of the majority had already, in one instance, been overruled; and you will easily understand, said he, the delicate nature of our situation, and your heart is formed, to sympathize with us, when you recollect the dangers and difficulties to which the Constitutional Government is exposed.*

This answer, artful as it was, did not impose upon the sagacious *Swiss*. They saw clearly, that this pretended *Constitutional Government*, if it was not the author, was at least an accomplice, in the enormities it affected to condemn;* and while they generously afforded an hospitable asylum to those who had the good fortune to make their escape from its fury, they, at the same time, took advantage of the impressions of horror, which the transactions at *Geneva* had made upon the minds of their subjects, to publish the following Proclamation, which, as it gives a very correct, and at the same time, a very concise picture of the scenes I have attempted to describe, is the only State Paper I shall give You the trouble of reading at length.

TO OUR DEAR AND FAITHFUL FELLOW-CITIZENS,
WE, THE AVOYER, LITTLE COUNCIL, AND GREAT
COUNCIL, OF THE CITY AND REPUBLIC OF BERNE,
SEND GREETING.

“ You cannot be ignorant of the melancholy events,
“ which have lately taken place in *Geneva*. That Republic,
“ lic,

* What must those *Cantons* think, when they hear, that one of the Syndics, who, as a Chief Magistrate of the Republic, had just before assured them, that the Revolution of 1792, *was completed*, and that there would be no repetition of it, was not ashamed, in a letter written to a Correspondent in London, to pride himself on having foreseen the second Revolution, of which, he said, *a man must have been blind not to see the absolute necessity?* In the Letter alluded to, he completely lays aside the mask; and though he admits, that *the people had obtained all the liberty they could wish for*, he goes on to remind his Correspondent, *that they were poor, and that the Rich had had their turn in the enjoyment of opulence, &c.*

“ lic, in whose welfare, both as allies, and as neighbours,
 “ we have taken so long the strongest, and most affectionate
 “ interest, is overwhelmed by calamities, perfectly new in
 “ their kind, and in extent, duration, and consequences,
 “ beyond the eye of Man to trace.

“ At the very moment when We, and our Neighbours,
 “ the Canton of *Zurich*, were told in form by the new
 “ Government of *Geneva*, that the Revolution was com-
 “ pleted; that peace and tranquillity would be the imme-
 “ diate consequence of the new System, and that all
 “ former differences were at an end; We learn that a band
 “ of lawless Men has attacked, and, by main force, com-
 “ pletely overthrown, in that Republic, all public Li-
 “ berty, and all private security. Houses have been
 “ forcibly entered, without lawful authority; the Inha-
 “ bitants of them, violently dragged out of them, arbi-
 “ trarily detained, and illegally imprisoned. The Minis-
 “ ters of Religion have been attacked in a City, which
 “ called itself one of the *bulwarks of the Reformation*, in a
 “ manner, that threatens Religion itself.—In the midst
 “ of this general confusion, some individuals have been
 “ put to death, against the wishes of a decided Majority of
 “ their Judges. Plots are laid against the lives, the liber-
 “ ty, and the property of others, without regard to the
 “ sanctity of oaths, or the established forms and settled
 “ maxims of Law; and the Inhabitants in general are at
 “ the mercy of Usurpers, who dispose of the lives and
 “ fortunes of their Countrymen, with no other rule of
 “ conduct, than their own tyrannical caprice.

“ We see with the liveliest sorrow, the wretched situ-
 “ ation of a State, which has ever been an object of inte-
 “ rest to us, and from its local position, must ever engage
 “ the attention of the Helvetic Body. But our sorrow is
 “ lost in indignation, when We hear, that some of our
 “ own subjects have taken a part in transactions so cri-
 “ minal. Our anxiety for the safety, and honour of our
 “ country, will not permit us to suffer such men to return
 “ to, or remain in it. We therefore order, that such of
 “ them as are not at present within our territories, do not
 “ presume to enter them; and that those who have engaged
 “ in

“ in such enormities, and are within our jurisdiction, be
 “ immediately apprehended, in order to receive the pu-
 “ nishment their crimes deserve.

“ We have no doubt but that our Dear and Faithful
 “ Fellow-citizens will participate these sentiments with us,
 “ and will exert themselves, to give effect to this Procla-
 “ mation. Above all, We indulge a confident hope, that
 “ the sight of the disasters which have overwhelmed *Geneva*
 “ will teach them to set a just value on those impartial
 “ laws, which, with a mild and beneficent Religion, have
 “ so long secured to us the enjoyment of public peace, of
 “ private security, and of all the blessings which Almighty
 “ God so liberally bestows on those He loves, and which,
 “ We trust, He will continue to shed on us, as He shed
 “ them on our forefathers, if, like them, We confide in
 “ his goodness, and endeavour to deserve the continuance
 “ of it, by our obedience to his Laws, and our unshaken
 “ love of our Country.”

*Given in our Great Council, the 4th day of
 August, 1794.*

FROM THE CHANCERY OF BERNE.

This truly paternal admonition had the effect it deserved, on that part of the territory of *Berne*, which lies the nearest to us; for those of the inhabitants, on whom the artifices which had succeeded so fatally in *Geneva*, had been practised with some degree of effect, have since candidly acknowledged, that the fate of the *Genevese* brought them back to a sense of their interest, and duty.

In the mean time, under pretence of *Economy*, but in truth, to conceal the extent of the horrors that had been, and still were to be perpetrated; the *Revolutionary Tribunal* issued an order forbidding the use of mourning, for a year to come. This was soon followed by another, for lowering the interest of money, and for annulling all leases; by the last of which regulations, they not only relieved the lower classes, from the payment of rents, which, from the depreciated value of property, were become too high, but in fact levied a heavy fine upon those people of property,

perty, whom they had hitherto had no pretence for attacking.

They also renewed their *domiciliary visits*, leaving no more than twelve ounces of plate to any individual; and because the *French* had confiscated the property of such of their own Emigrants, as had borne arms against the new Republic, these faithful imitators summoned most of the *Genevese* who happened to be absent, when the late tragic scenes were acted, to return immediately, under the same penalty, and ordered all persons whose fortunes exceeded 800*l.* sterling, to give in an account of them within a week, in order that they might be assessed in proportion to their property and to their patriotism: and, to crown the whole, they assigned several churches as places of meeting for the different Clubs; they reduced the usual divine Service to a very small number of Offices, and permitted the ceremony of Marriage, and the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, to be performed by the civil Magistrate.

The *Revolutionary Tribunal* having thus prepared the way for new enterprises, and made a satisfactory trial of the obedience of its subjects, by threatening all, who presumed to express the slightest disapprobation of its measures, with what it called a *Revolutionary punishment*, resumed the proceedings, which it had suspended only until it could satisfy itself, whether the Nation was sufficiently accustomed to the sight of blood, to bear the further effusion of it. After banishing some soldiers of the Garrison, who had generously refused to act as executioners on the late occasion, it selected four other victims, three of whom had been Magistrates.

One of them, named *Naville Gallatin*, was a man of great talents, and defended himself with such eloquence and strength of argument, that one of his Judges, in giving sentence against him, said,—*I have two consciences; one of which tells me You are innocent; but the other tells me, You must die, that the State may be saved.—When I die, answered the intrepid Magistrate, the State will lose a great Citizen.*

The expression is bold, but perfectly characterises his elevated and undaunted spirit.

*And now, continued he, when sentence of death was passed on him, now mark the fate which awaits You and Your accomplices ; for You must not hope that guilt like yours, can go unpunished. You will find that all the ties of Social Order, which you have broken to attain your ends, will again be broken by those, who succeed You in your crimes, and in Your power : new factions will be formed against you, out of your own ; and as You have united, like wild beasts, in pursuing your prey, so, like wild beasts, You will tear each other to pieces, in dividing it. Thus will you avenge the cause of those, who have fallen, and are yet to fall sacrifices, to your avarice and ambition. To them, as well as to me, the prospect of approaching Immortality robs Death of all its terrors ; but to You the last moments of life will be embittered by reflections, more poignant than any tortures You can inflict. The innocent blood you have shed will be heard against You, and You will die without daring to implore the pardon of Heaven.**

So

* The speech he made to the Judges, when he was first brought before them, has been since published in *Switzerland*. The following passage strongly marks the character of this intrepid Magistrate. " And who are you," (addressing himself to the Tribunal) " who are " You, who now presume to sit in judgement on me ? I see none on " that Bench, but Usurpers.—After the destruction of the legal Magistracy in 1792, You made new Laws, and erected new Authorities ; " both of which You have since superseded, and, in their stead, have " established a merciless Proscription . . . Will you dare to say, that " you act under the Authority of the Sovereign People ? If the People " be your Sovereign, why have you not assembled it, without distinction of party, or opinion ? and why is this place filled with every " object, that can influence the fears, and over-rule the consciences, " of those who are to decide on our lives ?"

" Do not imagine that I mean to disgrace myself, by endeavouring to excite your compassion. I know that my death is already " determined on ; and you know that I am too decided a foe to " injustice, to hope to escape the sad, but honourable fate of the Magistrates You have murdered. But yet, to prove to all Europe, the " atrocious injustice of your proceedings, I declare in the presence " of Almighty God, that, ever since the Revolution in 1792, I have " lived in the closest retirement. Unable to restore the true laws of my " Country, I submitted to yours ; and while I carefully nourished in my

" bosom

So great was the reputation of this Magistrate, and so highly was he revered by the *Revolutionists* themselves, that though they had given up their right to review the sentences of the *Revolutionary* Tribunal, yet, on this occasion, they shewed an earnest wish to resume it, in order to save his life; and they actually assembled for that purpose. But before they could take the necessary steps, the Tribunal had an intimation of their intention; and to disappoint it, they promised, in the most solemn manner, that no execution should take place that night. In breach, however of the promise, they contrived that the executioners should come and demand him; and he, in the middle of the night, was shot, with the ex-syndic *Fatio*, on a remote part of the Ramparts.†

Many others would probably have suffered the same fate, but saved themselves, by well - applied pecuniary sacrifices‡; and the power of the Tribunal having at

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length

“bosom a spark of Liberty, which even your tyranny cannot extinguish, I consented to wear your chains, and to stifle the murmurs, which the sight of successful wickedness, excited in my bosom. To be relieved from that sight, in some degree, alleviates the misery of leaving my Wife and my Children; who, whatever be their future fate, will never have reason to be ashamed of my memory,” &c. &c. &c.

† The two others, *Audeoud* and *Delorme*, were executed at nearly the same time; so that, in the whole, eleven persons suffered on this occasion, viz. *Cayla*, *Prevost*, *De Rochemont*, *De Combes*, *Vivien*, *Chenaud*, *Meunier*, *Naville*, *Fatio*, *Audeoud*, and *Delorme*.

‡ By this means, many individuals, who seemed the principal objects of the popular fury, escaped, while others, apparently much less obnoxious, were sacrificed. One of the Judges, who, for good reasons, had suddenly become favourable to *Bellami*, one of the prisoners, against whom the Populace seemed particularly irritated, said, *If God had told me this morning, Thou wilt spare that Aristocrat, I should have answered, God, thou liest; and yet, considering the defence he has made, I find myself bound to acquit him.* Another more severe, or less venal, concluded his opinion by saying, *We are told that the Prisoner at the Bar has many private virtues; but so had Naville. I condemned him, notwithstanding his virtues: I see no reason why this man should be better treated.* His sentence was mitigated into confiscation and exile. Such is the extreme uncertainty necessarily attending upon every Revolution of this kind, that *Naville*, a few moments before he appeared in Court, took a very affectionate leave of *Bellami*, whose fate was generally expected to be more severe than his own, and promised to take care of his wife and children. *Naville* was executed, and *Bellami* escaped.

length expired, the Judges of it resigned their authority, after having held it about a fortnight; in which period, they tried and pronounced sentence on 508 prisoners; of whom,

37 were sentenced to death and forfeiture of all their property, 26 of whom were condemned for non-appearance.

94 to perpetual exile, and forfeiture of all their property.

4 to exile for different periods.

264 to confinement, for different periods, in their own houses.

10 to imprisonment for life, in the house of correction.

7 to imprisonment in the same place, for different periods.

71 were removed from their Offices, or severely reprimanded; and,

21 were acquitted; but only two received any compensation for what they had undergone.

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At last, said the Judges, in the report they made previous to resigning their offices, *at last the People is avenged. In discharging*, continued they, *the painful and important duties imposed upon us, we have followed no general Rules, we have been guided by no Legal principles.* “And
“now that the Revolution is completely established, permit us to declare our ideas, of what our Country requires of all its Citizens: it requires of them the practice of all the Social and Civic Virtues; it requires of them the purest Morality, the most undeviating integrity, both in their private transactions, and in their public duties. In short, it requires that we be completely regenerated.—In vain shall we have lopped off the abuses, that naturally shoot from excessive wealth; unless we establish Justice, Probity, and Virtue, not in words, but by actions, and by the irresistible force of example, Corruption will again rear her Hydra head.” &c. &c. &c.

When

When language like this, is heard from such men, on such an occasion ; when to other crimes, is added the hypocritical affection of conscience and principle, what hope is there of remorse ? What expectation of a return to justice and humanity ? Alas ! the unfortunate *Genevese* have no hope, no expectation, but that feeble one, that the fate of *Robespierre* may be a warning to his imitators, and that, since compunction cannot, fear may produce some mitigation of their cruelty.

But however this may be, *Geneva* is no longer what it was, a very few months ago : it is a new city standing on the ruins of the old one ; instead of peace, security, industry, content, and all the happiness which attends the practice of virtue, nothing is to be seen but pillage, murder, and all the crimes, and all the misery, which the dissolution of social ties, lets it upon the human species. Such is the train of evils, which the adoption of the *Jacobinical* philosophy, has introduced into *Geneva* : what must the effects of that System be, upon other countries, when we see those it has produced upon a nation, which, in the midst of its former intestine commotions, constantly revered the rights of property, and shuddered at the sight of blood !

That a people so wise, so temperate, so much accustomed to Liberty, and so well acquainted with the convulsions which the enjoyment of it too often occasions, should so suddenly have abandoned its native character and assumed a new one, cannot but be matter of surprise to every attentive reader, and certainly calls for some explanation. The limits of a letter do not permit me to go into a long detail, though the subject is worthy of the minutest investigation. I shall therefore briefly state, that I do not hesitate to impute the whole of that strange depravation of the character of my Countrymen, to the effect of a combination borrowed by them of the *French*, from whence *La Fayette*, too late, and in vain, predicted that anarchy and disorder which has since so universally prevailed in every department of his Country : I mean that combination, which, by gradually imparting power to those who were not responsible for the use of it, at last left those responsible for the use

use of it, from whose hands it had been wrested.—As the attention of your Countrymen will, no doubt, be much engaged in discussing the probable consequences of the new *self-created popular societies, or Clubs*, and particularly the dangers resulting from any *association* amongst them, I shall be more particular in explaining my meaning.

Cicero ascribes the duration of the Republican form of Government in Rome, to the institution of the office of *Tribune*; the very office which seems so often to have endangered the existence of the Government, but which, though established for the purpose of resisting the usurpations of the Senate, in its operation effectually restrained the extravagancies of the people, by making the Plebeian Magistrates responsible for them.—The history of Geneva abounds with illustrations of the truth of Cicero's observation. During the struggle of Parties, which so frequently distracted that little Republic, we constantly see that the rights of property and of persons, were preserved with religious care, and that the blessings of social order, were equally the objects of reverence with both. This can be ascribed to no other cause than the union of power and responsibility in those who were appointed the Chiefs of both Parties, and remained so during the whole contest. Even the moderation which was observed for the first six months after the Revolution, or rather Usurpation of 1792, is to be referred to no other cause. But from that period, when the inferior Demagogues, who were of too little consequence to be members of either the Government or the Convention, began, in imitation of the Jacobins at Paris, to collect all their Democratical Clubs, and unite them into one great *Central Club*, under the direction of a weekly President, the whole fabric of Government and of social order was shaken to its base, because the whole power of the State thereby fell into the hands of a capricious mob, which either had no chiefs at all, or had such as were not permanent, and consequently not subject to the smallest degree of responsibility.

The new Magistrates had undoubtedly no suspicion of the shock, which the erection of this great *Central Club*,
would

would finally give to their authority ; nor were they sensible of it, until the General Assembly, which, under the old Constitution of Geneva, seldom met, and had merely a power of adopting or rejecting, by a simple affirmative or negative, the new Laws proposed to it, was superseded by another Body partially constituted, daily assembled, and assuming the power of deliberating and proposing new measures, as well as of censuring those adopted by Administration. The resolves of this new Body soon became orders which the Government did not dare to disobey, and for which nevertheless, it was still considered as responsible, though the individuals at whose suggestions those resolves had been taken were never inquired after.—When the Magistrates discovered the insignificancy to which they were thus reduced, they tried to restore themselves to some share of their former importance, by endeavouring to put themselves at the head of the *Central Club*, which was now in fact the head of the Republic : But it was now too late ; the chief power and influence of that Body was in a continual state of fluctuation, and the public mind so entirely alienated and perverted, that they had no means of obtaining even a hearing, but by declaiming against the moderation of the Government, or of the Convention. From invectives of this sort, they soon proceeded to proposals of the most extravagant nature ; they openly circulated alarming reports of the machinations of the Aristocratical party, and recommended alterations, which, they said, would not fail to restore the Golden Age.

The consequences of thus intermixing the despotism of the rabble, with the dominion of the people, were such as might naturally be expected : habits of indolence, the distress occasioned by those habits, a sort of perpetual intoxication of the public mind, and the most alarming instability both of political and moral principle.—These mischiefs were the more extensive, as, for the first time in Geneva, young men under age procured an admission into that Club, and after emancipating themselves there from the restraints of paternal authority, (which might perhaps have supplied for some time the decline of public authority) acquired a decided superiority over those of a more advanced

vanced age and more sober judgment. Nay, so powerful was the delirium which then pervaded the public mind, that, since the institution of Trial by Jury took place, not one of them dared to convict any member of the Club, of any infringement of the public peace, however flagrant and atrocious it might be, and however solicitous Government might be for their punishment. It was the more impossible not to foresee that the impunity attending lesser crimes, would inevitably encourage the perpetration of greater ones, as on each of these acquittals, it was easy to observe the triumphs of the Central Club, which now gradually fell under the influence of a new set of leaders of desperate fortunes, who only surpassed each other by the violence of their respective motions, and who were altogether irresponsible.

Such was the degenerated state of the Central Club, when *Boussquet* was informed that it was ripe for the adoption and execution of his great and extensive plans of subversion and revolution, the daring wickedness of which, was the circumstance the most likely to ensure their success. The manner in which the event justified his expectations, has been already related; and from the exact similarity between his measures, resulting from such dangerous associations, and those of the Jacobins at Paris, as well as between the consequences of each, is irrefutably proved, the wisdom of that Axiom in Politics, that *Liberty can only be secure where power and responsibility are united.*

Such have been for Geneva the consequences of the violation of that salutary principle, that in one point only do we still discover the true *Genevese* character; I mean in the jealous vigilance, with which both the oppressors and the oppressed, watch over their political independence, and have hitherto protected it from the treachery of France. Doubtless, the leaders of the Revolution find it more convenient to insult, and plunder their defenceless Countrymen at home, than to be put in Requisition, and draughted into the armies of the Ocean, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees: but plunder must have an end; and when the booty is spent, what will then remain for them, but to sell their unhappy country to the highest bidder?

If

If it be painful to You, Sir, to read this description, how much more so is it for a *Genevan* to write it? So painful is it, that I should hardly have undertaken the task, had I not been informed, that some of my unhappy Countrymen are about to embark for *America*, in confidence of finding there, the liberty and security, which they have lost at home.—Permit me, Sir, to recommend those unfortunate Exiles to your protection, and to the humanity of your Countrymen; and be assured, that for the hospitality, and generous assistance, You hold forth to them, You will receive an ample return, of a kind which the *Americans* prize the most: The *Genevese* who settle among You, will bring You habits of acting and of thinking, truly Republican, and perfectly conformable to your own: They will bring You an enlightened zeal for liberty, an habitual submission to equal and impartial Laws, an awful reverence for Religion, and a sacred regard for Property: But above all, Sir, they will bring You that dread of the interference of foreign Powers, which their melancholy experience has taught them, and a profound respect for those essential, and fundamental forms of the Constitution, which, in free States, are the strongest safeguards of Liberty.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

London, Sept. 23, 1794.

SIR,

THE Revolution of *Geneva* seems to take a milder turn, than might have been expected; owing, perhaps, to a change in the temper and disposition of the *French*, who appear to be relaxing from their system of severity, or, more probably, to the return of the *Genevese* to their natural character. Whatever be the cause, it is certain, that the latter begin to feel some remorse for what they have done; and openly avow their regret for having so long imitated, and (to say the truth) in every point but one, surpassed the former.

In one point indeed, and in one point only, the *French* are still without a rival; for out of no less than 508 persons, on whom different sentences were passed, on the late occasion, there was but *one* Woman, who was condemned to be imprisoned for life, for having given assistance, and forwarded letters, to some *French* Emigrants; and it is more than probable, that even this sentence was obtained by the influence and intrigues of the *French* Resident. In every other respect, the *Genevese* have gone far beyond their model. One of the Judges, for instance, of the *Revolutionary Tribunal*, is said to have left the bench, in order to assist in executing the unfortunate Magistrates, whom he had just condemned. In the same manner, those who sentenced the Syndic *Cayla* to death, had the audacity to reckon, among his crimes, the large sums, which he had long been in the habit of distributing among the Poor, with a view (as was alledged) of corrupting them. His bounty was, indeed, improperly applied, since the very objects of it were those, who clamoured the loudest for his death, and actually obtained it. They are now sorry that they did so: their sorrow, however, does not proceed from remorse only, but is the consequence of an event, which

which they little expected, and for which they were wholly unprepared.

You recollect, Sir, that the second Revolution, which took place on the 18th of July, 1794, was, in a great measure, effected by the two Clubs of the *Marseillaise* and *Mountaineers*. Those Clubs were composed of the very dregs of the populace, and consequently, could only be tools in the hands of others. But no sooner was the second Revolution completely effected, than they who had conducted the former, adopted it, and with a view, either of securing their own safety, or perhaps of sharing the plunder, immediately endeavoured to put themselves at the head of it.

Of course, their first object was, to strip the *French* Resident of his influence. And in truth it was time to do so; for there was now no doubt, that the only object of that Minister, in forming the interest he had acquired among the *Mountaineers*, was to govern and guide them himself, and, by their means, ultimately to incorporate *Geneva* with *France*.

But this Coalition, however unexpected, was not brought about so expeditiously, as to escape the penetration of *Soulavie*; who no sooner discovered it, than he determined immediately to hasten to the execution of his plan.

At this critical moment, happened the fall, and immediately afterwards, the death of *Roberspierre*, whose creature he was; an event which seemed completely to blast his hopes; for his rivals were instantly joined by all the *Genevese*, who still wished to preserve the independence of their Country. The first consequence of that event, was a formal complaint lodged against him, with the *French* Ministry, by the *Syndics* and Council.*

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Desperate,

* The very day after they heard of *Roberspierre's* defeat, the Constitutional Government wrote an answer to a very violent note, presented by *Soulavie*, in which he expressly calls them *the Enemies of France*, and threatens them with no less, than *arming the neighbouring Districts* against them. This answer contains a very spirited recapitulation of the conduct of *Soulavie*, and is the more curious, as it is a striking specimen of the new Diplomatic style, which the Revolutionary System has introduced.

" Citizen

Desperate, however, as his situation was, he resolved to make one more effort, to save himself, and he soon found the opportunity he wanted.

The

"Citizen Resident," said they, "The *Syndics and Council of Geneva* have ever been aware of your ill-will towards both them and their Republic. They have long seen, that your conduct is directly calculated, to involve them in a dispute with France: but their love of peace, and their respect for the character you sustain, has induced them to suppress the unpleasing sentiments, which such a sight excited. But now that You set them the example, by forgetting the respect You owe, to the Magistrates of a free and independent people, they no longer withhold the expression of their indignation, and feel it a duty to repel your attacks, &c. &c.

"We shall not enumerate all our causes of complaint, against You. We shall soon have an opportunity of stating them fully, to Those who want neither power nor inclination to do us justice. We will confine ourselves, at present, to some observations on your official Note, of the 13th of *Thermidor*, and on the spirit which seems to have dictated it. That Note, exhibits, in our opinion, a satisfactory proof, with how little delicacy You choose the means of effecting your purpose. Some facts it has wholly suppressed; others it states imperfectly; and by artfully misrepresenting the rest, gives room to suspect, that things of greater importance than those it states, are behind. Nor is this all: at the very instant, when all the Friends of Liberty and Equality in *Geneva*, are united to crush Aristocracy, You impute to us views of hostility towards *France*. But what *Genevan* can see any advantage, (unless he is a traitor to his Country) in *exciting*, in *driving* (as you term it) the neighbouring Districts, to take arms against us? Give us leave to tell You, Sir, that it is your base and insidious conduct alone, which will induce them to take such a step, or to form a bad opinion of us? Was it for this purpose that You were sent to us? The Nation You represent, has made Justice and Integrity, the Order of the day: but its Minister has wilfully and deliberately falsified the most important facts, in order to criminate us. The Nation You represent, wishes to fraternise with all other free Nations: but You, Sir, have abused the authority of your situation, to commit your Country, with the only Nation, which has adopted its principles. We know, however, that the Committee of Public Safety will not condemn a whole people unheard: to it, we shall address ourselves, and we know that we shall be heard; the important truths we shall disclose, will have their effect. Your menaces do not terrify us: We even hear them with pleasure, as they afford us a hope, that the intrigues and cabals You have been so long forming against us, will soon be at an end. This undisguised declaration of our sentiments, these bold truths, are the language of Freemen: If it offends You, the conduct which has occasioned it, will justify it, and we shall stand acquitted by all who love sincerity and truth. We therefore give You notice, Sir, that we shall transmit both your Note, and our Answer, to the Committee of Public Safety," &c. &c.

Geneva, Aug. 5th, in the 3d Year of *Genevese Equality*.

By Order of the Syndics and Council,

(Signed) DIDIER.

The daily allowance, which had been distributed for about three weeks, among the Clubs, and which had cost the State 300 louis-d'ors a day, had been lately withdrawn, to the great dissatisfaction of the Marseillaise and Mountaineers, but particularly of the latter, who were thereby deprived of a resource which, while it lasted, had made it unnecessary for them to return to their former employments. To resume them now, was a measure they were not at all inclined to; and their ill-humour increased, as they began to feel the pressure of distress.

They complained of having been amused with the hope, that, as soon as the new division of Property was made, every Patriot would have a comfortable subsistence. They saw with indignation, that their plunder was either wasted, or put out of their reach, as soon as it was collected; and as it was impossible either to sell, or to let the splendid houses, which had been confiscated, both within the walls of the City, and in the neighbourhood, they insisted on having them divided, and distributed in shares. Far, also, from joining the majority of the Friends of the Revolution, in blaming the conduct and designs of the French Resident, the Mountaineers flocked in great numbers to his house; supported him against the most popular Members of the Government; and insisted upon knowing the reasons of the *misunderstanding between him and them, which, they said, was too prejudicial to the interests of the Republic, to be kept a secret.*

But however they might regret, in private, that the Revolution had not had the effect of making Geneva, a part of the French Republic, they were not yet bold enough, openly to assign that as the reason of their dissatisfaction. They made no scruple, however, of declaring loudly, that the vengeance of the nation was not yet satisfied; and insisted, that the *Revolutionary Tribunal* should resume its functions, and bring to justice, between five and six hundred more persons, who, they said, had been hitherto spared, though clearly guilty, and in which number, they at last expressly, and by name, included those *Revolutionists*, who were known to be the most attached to the preservation of the National independence, as well as
some

some, whom *Soulavie* pointed out to them, as his own *personal enemies*, and who were, in fact, the principal Members of the Government, but whom he chose to call by the name of *Temporisers* and *Moderates*. These last were particularly obnoxious to the *Mountaineers*, and had incurred their most violent hatred, by constantly checking them, whenever, after the completion of the first Revolution, that undisciplined and savage mob wanted to hurry on to a second, before *Boussquet* arrived to point out the proper time for beginning it.

These threats of personal danger roused the Members of the *Constitutional Government*, and induced them, though still to a certain degree under suspension, to resume the authority they had affected to want on the 18th of July. The rest of the *Revolutionary Clubs* were immediately called together, and in one of them, the feelings of the Members excited by a speech, in which the mask was so completely laid aside, that it would be unpardonable not to lay some passages of it before you.

"I maintain," said the Revolutionist who delivered it, "that the scheme of erecting a new *Revolutionary Tribunal*, can have originated only in an enemy to the independence of our Country: nor can it meet with support, but from the most deluded, or from those who are too indolent to return to their former employments, and who know, that until the tranquillity of the State is restored, they must be continued in arms, and consequently, supported at the public expence. For what but the completest ignorance, or the most wicked malice, can suggest any apprehensions now, from what was once the Aristocratical party in *Geneva*, and which the loss of its wealth, and the fall of Monarchy in *France*, have completely reduced to insignificance, without power at home, or influence abroad? &c.

"France has made Justice the Order of the day: yet in *Geneva*, which should be a City of Brothers, there are men to be found, who still thirst for blood, and call for the establishment of another *Revolutionary Tribunal*, with no limit to its authority, but its own capricious will. Is there no reason to fear, that the respectable Powers, on
"whom

"whom we depend for our subsistence, and for the pro-
 "sperity of our trade, and who have already so strongly
 "marked their disapprobation of our conduct, will no
 "longer suppress their indignation? And should that be
 "the case, is there no reason to fear that *Geneva*, the native
 "Country of *Rousseau*,—*Geneva*, whose Citizens had, by
 "their calm and temperate behaviour, even in the midst of
 "intestine discords, by the purity of their morals, by their
 "piety, by the brilliancy of their talents, and the extent
 "of their knowledge, obtained the esteem and respect of
 "all *Europe*,—that *Geneva* may lose its independence, and
 "no longer be permitted to call herself free? Let us in-
 "stantly reject a proposal so dangerous," &c.

This harangue was very much applauded, and when
 printed, revived the courage of all those who had been con-
 cerned in effecting the first Revolution, as well as of those
 who, though equally averse to the first and second, had,
 from motives of fear or prudence, submitted to both.
 They immediately resolved to arm themselves, but to
 receive no pay; to revive the *Revolutionary Tribunal*, but
 at the same time, to direct its severity, not against those
 who were falsely called and treated as Aristocrates, but
 towards those, who were endeavouring, under the mask of
 Patriotism, to involve their Country in farther confusion,
 and to give up its independence.

Having, by these measures, obtained a decided supe-
 riority, they still proceeded with great caution, and were
 particularly careful not to alarm the *Marseillaise*, who were
 more numerous, and, if possible, more eager for blood than
 the Mountaineers; but at the same time, more under the
 controul of their Leaders, less in the habit of looking up
 to the *French Resident*, and more attached to the idea of
 National independence. By this conduct, they detached
 them by degrees from their former Associates, the Moun-
 taineers; who, being thus abandoned, were surrounded,
 disarmed, and thrown into prison, without offering to make
 the slightest resistance; though, when they clamoured for
 the death of the acquitted Magistrates, the very men, who
 now mastered them so easily, affected to consider them as
 invincible.

The new Tribunal, which consisted of the same Members as before, was very careful, however, in the exercise of its authority, to spare such of the Mountaineers, as had distinguished themselves by their zeal on the former occasion; and endeavoured to divert the public indignation from them, by calling for accusations against such of the more wealthy Citizens, as had hitherto escaped, and were still *incorrigible Enemies* of the Revolution. But the whole body of *Revolutionists* saw through the artifice, and on the 25th of August, being the very day after that, on which the Tribunal was erected, presented the following address to it.

“ Yesterday, Citizens, You received an order from
 “ 2135 of your Countrymen, to form Yourselves into a
 “ *Revolutionary Tribunal*, and to try the criminals, who
 “ had been imprisoned the preceding morning; and what
 “ have You done? Nothing. We are tired of such slow,
 “ such equivocal conduct; and we now come to inform
 “ You, that unless You proceed to the discharge of your
 “ duty by noon, we will make You answerable for the
 “ consequences. Let the first of your Members, who
 “ shall dare to draw off your attention from the exercise
 “ of your functions, be immediately put under arrest: let
 “ the Mountaineers be disarmed: let the Address which
 “ has been found among their papers, be communicated
 “ to all the Citizens: and let the disturbers of the public
 “ peace, meet the punishment they deserve, before the
 “ day is over.”

(Signed)

GIRARD, Secretary.

When the books and papers of the Mountaineers were seized, the plan of an Address to the People, was found among them, the object of which was, to bring about a *third* Revolution. It espoused the quarrel of the French Resident, in the openest manner, and asked in plain terms, *how long the Enemies of the French Nation were to insult it with impunity?*

This address (which was evidently drawn up by *Soulavie*)* was directly calculated to put the *Revolutionists* them-

* Among other passages, is the following very curious one: *The good will of the Mountaineers towards France, exposes them to all the malignity.*

themselves into confusion, and force them to throw themselves into the arms of France; though it affected to treat the imputation of any such design, as a gross and slanderous falsehood. It has been said, that by means of a chemical process, some of the names which had been signed to this paper and afterwards erased, were restored; and that, among others, was that of *Soulavie*. However this may have been, the confessions of such of the Mountaineers, as were taken into custody, left no doubt of the nature of that Minister's views and conduct.

During these transactions, Mr. *Reybaz*, the Genevese Minister in *France*, a man of real merit, and very highly esteemed in *Paris*, (whom no one suspects of approving the conduct of his new Constituents, though all were surprised that he continued to fill his situation under them) being perfectly apprised of the scheme, that was formed against the independence of his Country, took advantage of the fall of *Robespierre*, to defeat it.—He not only prevailed upon those, who succeeded *Robespierre*, to disavow the conduct of *Soulavie*, and to recall him with marks of displeasure; but he also obtained from the Convention, a new and solemn acknowledgement of the Independence of *Geneva*, and an allowance of the same honours to himself, as its representative, as had lately been granted to the Minister of the *United States of America*. In his official correspondence, he took particular care to let his Constituents know, that the account of the late Revolution, which they had intended, no doubt, for the perusal of *Robespierre*, had reached his successors, at the very moment, when they had determined to adopt a line of conduct, the very reverse of his: that the principles on which they meant to act, were those of Justice, Humanity, and Moderation; and that their intention was to shew themselves, not more the foes of Aristocracy, than of Anarchy and Insubordination.

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nity of the Enemies of that Nation, who imprison them, calumniate them, oppress them by unjust prosecutions, and do all in their power to disunite them, by dividing them into new Clubs, exactly in the same manner as PITT persecutes the Opposition in England, for favouring the cause of France.

The state of affairs being thus so essentially altered, the *Revolutionary Tribunal* could no longer refuse to proceed to the trial of the *Mountaineers*. And although no positive evidence was adduced, of a plot to deliver up the City into the hands of the *French*, and though the individuals accused, made the most public and solemn declaration, that every step, for which they were now called to answer, was taken by the instigation, and under the immediate direction, of the very men, who were then sitting in judgment on them, yet four of that party received sentence of death. The Populace, who but six weeks before, had been the accomplices, and instruments of their crimes, heard the sentence with transport; and the Criminals met their fate in a manner as dastardly, as the behaviour of the Magistrates, whom they had murdered, was courageous and dignified. Thus has so small a State as *Geneva*, already proved, at the expence of the very men, who contemptuously called the Revolution, *an abortive one*, the justness of the remark of a great Revolutionary Leader in France,* a few moments before he submitted to the Guillotine.—*Every Revolution*, said he, *of the nature of ours, is like Saturn: it devours its own offspring.*

Bousquet, the real head of the *Mountaineer* party, is still alive: but he lives in hourly apprehensions of sharing the fate of his accomplices. That *Roberfpierre* of *Geneva*, who possesses all the vices, and none of the talents of his model, and who like him, ruled his country for a short time, with unlimited sway, has not been able to retain his usurped Authority.—That he might have a plausible pretext, for no longer continuing a member of a Tribunal, whose cruelties he affected to condemn, he has, with equal dexterity and baseness, contrived to withdraw his name from the number of those who were to decide on the lives of their Countrymen, and to have it inserted in the Commission, to which the task of confiscating their property, was allotted: and now, equally dreading the vengeance of those he has ruined, and the contempt of those who shared his crimes, he is rapidly sinking into his original
obscurity,

* Danton.

obscurity, and already verifies the prediction of one of his Countrymen (Mr. *Chauvet*), who, in a Letter from London, of the 15th of August, told him, *that he would preserve only the shadow of authority, by submitting to acts of the basest compliance.* "Those who overturn the Laws," continued he, "are Tyrants to-day, only to be Slaves to-morrow; and are suffered to exist, amidst the contempt of their associates, and the hatred of their rivals, only until they have satiated the avidity of the one, and prepared the way for the triumph of the other." The Letter ended with these prophetic words: "I do not say, that political Crimes have always led to the ruin of those, who commit them; I do not say, that the popularity which is obtained by such means, is as unstable as it is contemptible: nor do I say, that a thousand accidents may change that Order of things, which now seems so favourable to You. But I say, that the hour is at hand, when you will envy the fate of those, who have fallen sacrifices to the Revolution you have effected," &c.

The punishment, which the inferior Agents of the late Revolution have already suffered, has encouraged the *Genevese* to hope, that the vengeance of Providence will soon overtake the principal Criminals, and afford the unhappy victims of their ambition, some alleviation of their misery, and perhaps, an opportunity of escaping from a City which is become the harbour of every crime. Some, indeed, have already obtained, by means of money, a commutation of their sentence of confinement to their own houses, into perpetual exile. And who can wonder, that they should consider it as an indulgence, that can hardly be bought too dearly, to be banished from a City, whose streets are reeking with the blood of innocent and virtuous men; where the hopes of plunder are the only bonds of an union, which the division of it must soon dissolve; where the populace was encouraged to pillage, in order to be taken into pay; and was kept in pay, in order to pillage; where property is lost to its owners, without enriching or satiating the robbers: a City, whose

Inhabitants have suffered a handful of Foreigners* to govern them, to insult them, and even to infuse a portion of their own ferocity into them; where the blackest crimes appear without disguise, and the pure religion of the Country, with its venerable Ministers, is delivered over to an insolent and merciless persecution; where those who have already suffered, are perhaps less to be pitied than the survivors, who live in dreadful expectation of following their fate; where soon, nothing will be seen, but the miseries of the oppressed, and the tyranny of the oppressors; where the Rich are plundered, to feed the indolence, and inflame the avidity of the indigent; where Famine, Discord, Hatred, and Revenge, must soon appear, with all the horrors that usually accompany them; where the sacred name of Liberty has been for ever polluted, and where those, who are most afflicted at the calamities, of which they have suffered themselves to be made the instruments, see no means to escape, but by plunging into others, still more disastrous; and where, even if they were able, by an effort of virtuous Despair, to free themselves from the yoke, that galls them, the troops of France which surround them, would assuredly avenge the cause of their Tyrants, and inflict upon them a punishment,

* I am sensible, this is but a weak Apology for the *Genevèse*. Nothing is more true however; than that they received their first impulse towards the late Revolution, from *France*; and that the greatest part of the enormities perpetrated in the course of them, were committed by Foreigners, and particularly by *Frenchmen*, who, in the first Revolution, had acquired the right of Citizenship in *Geneva*, which from its local situation with respect to *France*, *Savoy*, and *Switzerland*, naturally became the refuge of all such as, from various circumstances, were obliged to abandon their own country.

A decisive proof that the second Revolution was not the work of the *Genevèse*, is, that the Authors of it, never ventured to assemble the *General Assembly*, and took the earliest opportunity of suspending it, and transferring its functions to *provisional Committees* composed of very few Members. Doubtless, the *Genevèse* have been much to blame: yet, what other Country will venture to say, that had it been as weak, as unprotected, as *Geneva* was, as completely surrounded by the territory, and as much exposed to the violence, and, when violence was laid aside, to the intrigues and artifices of *France*, it would have escaped the cruel fate which Despotism, Injustice, and Perfidy, have brought upon that unfortunate State?

of which the World has already seen with horror an instance, in the fate of *Lyons*?

In short, Sir, *Geneva*, that was once so distinguished among the Cities of the Earth—*Geneva*, the seat of Religion, of Morality, of Science, of Art and of Commerce, but above all, of Sacred Liberty—*Geneva* is irrecoverably lost: peace, security, and happiness, have for ever abandoned her, and her miseries can only terminate with those of *France*. Happy, if like her wiser Neighbours, the *Swiss*, she had remained a silent spectator of the convulsions, which have so long distracted that unfortunate Country! But, as she has been seduced to imitate her conduct, she must participate her fate. The fall of *Robespierre* at *Paris*, was immediately followed by the ruin of the *Mountainers* at *Geneva*; and every future struggle of faction in the former of those cities, will be equally felt in the latter. *France* is now her only Ally; and even the friendship of *France* would be lost, if the citizens of *Geneva*, impelled by remorse for what they have done, and remembering their former happiness, should make any efforts to recover that sober freedom, those wise and temperate Laws, which they have been sacrificing, during the last two years, on the altars of Revolutionary Anarchy.

Facilis descensus Averni:

*Sed revocare gradum, superasq. evadere ad auras,
Hic labor, hoc opus est.*

Yours, &c.

London, Oct. 3, 1794.

SIR,

THE appearance of moderation, which things seemed to wear at Geneva, when I last had the honour to address You, was soon laid aside; and we are now to see the Revolution, in its genuine and original character, as a system of anarchy, devastation and plunder.

You may recollect, that at the date of my last letter, the Mountaineers were completely humbled; *Soulavie* was recalled, and the Convention had made declarations, which, if sincere, rendered all apprehensions of danger from the French, groundless. Under circumstances so favourable, the Revolutionary Tribunal thought it unnecessary to wear the mask any longer. It declared it to be unjust, that its severity should be exercised on deluded patriots only; and thought it high time to take the cases of such of the *Enemies of Liberty and Equality*, as had been lately ordered not to leave their own houses, into consideration.

The number of persons of that description amounted to 343. They were principally of the class of Merchants, or, as the Revolutionists affected to call them, *trading Aristocrats*, and had attracted their notice, as being in their opinion, as rich, and more avaricious, than those they had already attacked.

It would seem, that for these two years past, the more virtuous and enlightened part of the *Genevese* have laboured under a sort of infatuation, which by an ill-timed spirit of moderation and forbearance, have drawn upon them the very dangers, they most wished to avoid. These very men, for instance, whose turn of persecution was now come, had been weak enough to believe, that the late military preparations were made with no other view than to provide for their safety, and the security of the National independence. They therefore had waited the event of the
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contest with anxiety, and had continued their prayers for those who were in the end successful, until they were informed, by the victors themselves, that they and their property were to be the fruits of the victory.

Although the Tribunal had declared in its first Report, that the *Nation was at last sufficiently avenged*, yet, in the second, it asserted that the severities which had been exercised on the former occasion, had proved *insufficient to repress all the enemies of public happiness**. It therefore recommenced

* The hypocritical impudence of this second Report, which was published on the 6th of September, surpasses, if possible, that of the first. The terms of *Liberty, Justice, and Virtue*, are used with the same scandalous effrontery; and it concludes with the same exhortation to the *Genevese*, to be *virtuous, to be industrious, and to keep it constantly in their remembrance, that the practice of domestic virtue is the best, the only foundation of public; the only reward, which the Members of the Tribunal ask for all their labours*.

The members of this Tribunal were (as has been already observed) almost entirely taken from the lower Classes of the People, and were wholly unknown, before the late convulsions. On this account, the description they give of their rivals, the Mountaineer leaders, is equally curious and instructive. "Every revolution," say they, "brings into notice, individuals, who, till then, were either unknown, or known only to their disadvantage. To the former such periods are useful, as they afford them an opportunity of emerging from obscurity; to the latter, as they enable them to efface the remembrance of their private infamy, by the affectation of public virtues. Both are equally active, both equally influenced by their own selfish views; both consider all means as allowable, which tend to the attainment of those views; and under the mask of patriotism, both turn the holy duty of insurrections against the real interests of the insurgents."

"Twelve months ago, a popular Society was formed, called the Club of the Mountaineers, who undertook to act as *sentinels of liberty*. Under this name, which, to the minds of Frenchmen, imported every thing respectable, they endeavoured to depose the popular authorities of *Geneva*, to destroy what the Revolution had raised, and to plunge their Country into that state of confusion, which was most favourable to the views of those who had long been planning its ruin. One circumstance alone protected these Conspirators from the punishment their crime deserved. The house of the French Resident was their place of rendezvous, and the scene of their secret and nocturnal cabals. That Minister, who was sent hither for the purpose of preserving harmony and friendship between the two Nations, took advantage of his situation to impose upon his Constituents, to injure us in their esteem, to sow dissensions among our patriots; in short, to establish Anarchy in *Geneva* . . . It was impossible however, that such conduct
" should

recommenced its operations, by committing the same enormities which it had accused the Mountaineers of intending to commit;* and though the pretence, under which so many persons were put into confinement, was to protect them, during the struggle which was likely to ensue, yet it is now well known, that the real reason of that measure was to prevent their taking part in that struggle, and to secure them and their property, as a reward of the victors; and it is more than probable, that the object of publishing the conciliatory speech, (quoted p. 46) which so vehemently inveighs against further severities, was to divert their attention from the new dangers, that hung over their heads.

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“ should be permitted for any length of time. The respect to which
 “ he was entitled, while he bore a public character, was necessarily
 “ withdrawn, when he engaged in intrigues, in falsehoods, in calum-
 “ nies. His behaviour could not long remain unknown; and it was
 “ impossible that the French Republic, which generously offers us good-
 “ will and fraternity, would suffer a Man who was guilty of such crimes,
 “ to continue to represent her! and she will undoubtedly punish him as
 “ he deserves, for daring to expose his country, by his base and per-
 “ fidious conduct, to the danger of seeing the Helvetic Body added to
 “ the number of its enemies.”

* A discovery has lately been made, which fixes a double charge of treachery on the Tribunal in their conduct towards the Mountaineers. One of the reasons assigned for the condemnation of *Wittel*, their principal leader, was the prevention of fresh crimes, of which it was said he had laid the plan. It is now said, with great probability of truth, that *Wittel*, who was a man of much superior talents to most of the other leaders of the Revolution, and had consequently excited their jealousy, had begun to feel the most pungent remorse for what had been done, and to think of employing his influence to make amends for it, by alleviating some of the miseries which the Revolution had occasioned; it is even asserted, that in speaking of the Syndic *Cayla*, of whom he openly declared his admiration, he was imprudent enough to say publicly to some of the Mountaineers, *Friends, it will belong to us to revenge innocent blood.* A premature discovery of such intentions was the real cause of the sentence pronounced against him.—Care indeed was taken to condemn and execute, at the same time, some of the Mountaineers, whose other crimes had justly exposed them to that fate, had it been pronounced by any other Tribunal: But it seems more than probable, that the violences for which they were said to suffer, were really meditated, not by them, but by the Marseillaise, in conjunction with the Tribunal who tried them, and by whom, after the fall of the Mountaineers, these violences were completely carried into execution.

In this third scene of the Tragedy, however, no lives were lost, though six pretended Aristocrats were sentenced to death; but being absent, they did not suffer: eighteen were banished for life, and the rest either confined, or *deprived of their political rights*, for periods of different lengths.* The reason of the latter part of their sentence is obvious. The suffrages are given in the Assembly of the People, not openly, but by ballot; and as the Tribunal is perfectly aware of the real sentiments of the greater part of the Members of that Assembly, it takes great care not to call it together, until it has excluded from it, the greater part of those, of whose integrity it is afraid.†

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* The second Report of the Tribunal, gives the following statement, Of the Mountaineers,

5 were capitally convicted and executed, one of whom was a Marseillaise, whom *Soulavie* had accused of insulting him, and who died with heroic composure.

6 sentenced to death for non-appearance.

3 banished for life.

7 condemned to perpetual imprisonment for different periods.

21

The rest were discharged, with an exhortation, *to be upon their guard against intriguers, and agitators, and to distribute themselves among the other Revolutionary Clubs.*

Of the Aristocrats and Neutrals, or as the Tribunal calls them, *those who did not defend the rights of the People at all, or defended them with too little zeal,*

6 were sentenced to death for non-appearance.

18 banished for life.

8 sentenced to imprisonment for a year in their own houses, with forfeiture of all their political rights.

4 to the same forfeiture, and six months imprisonment.

4 Clergymen were suspended from the exercise of their functions, with the same forfeiture.

14 to the same forfeiture.

32 to a year's imprisonment in their own houses, and suspension of their political rights for two years.

49 to six months imprisonment, and suspension for two years.

103 to three months imprisonment, and suspension for two years.

88 to suspension for two years.

17 reprimanded for want of zeal in the defence of the rights of the People, and discharged.

343

† The Tribunal took no pains to conceal their reason. *This measure, say they in their Report, is absolutely necessary under our present circum-*

In the mean time, the powers of the General Assembly are intrusted to twenty-three Clubs, or Revolutionary Sections, in which, the Members give their votes *viva voce*, and in which none dare open their lips but those, to whom a state of tranquillity is a state of violence; and whose audacity increases with the timidity, and acquiescence of the rest.

These twenty-three deliberative Republics, as they may be called, meet twice a day, and sometimes collectively, sometimes separately, form resolutions the most inconsistent and contradictory: sometimes, they permit the workmen, who are under sentence of confinement to their own houses, to go to their shops three times a day; and immediately after they retract this permission. Sometimes they seem determined to sap the very foundation of the Edifice, by *revolutionizing* the principles of the rising generation; but when they observe, that not a single person of those engaged in the public education of youth, has adopted, or will adopt their system, they purpose to put them all into a *provisional state of requisition*, until they can supply their places, or do without them; for they already begin to clamour against the Arts and Sciences, as *branches of Aristocracy*. Sometimes, they openly avow their intention to unpeople their Country, and, in pursuance of that plan, permit all who wish to leave it, to retire with their effects; but the next day, they are alarmed at the number of Emigrants, and the quantity of property they take with them, and prohibit the departure or removal of either.

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stances, and may be useful in future. To say the truth, the object of the Revolution, is gradually to introduce Regenerating Laws; and in order to secure that object, it is indispensably necessary that they, who have on all occasions shewn themselves Enemies of the People, should, on this, be deprived of their right of suffrage; and our Fellow-citizens will easily see the justice, as well as propriety, of extending that precaution to those, who were tried by the first Tribunal.

This retrospective measure will of course affect near a thousand persons. It is an inconsistency almost too gross for belief, that a Revolution, whose professed object was to establish the right of *Universal Suffrage*, has already deprived of that privilege, nearly one half of those, who formerly enjoyed it.

The question, which has hitherto most embarrassed the Revolutionists, is to determine, whether they shall continue the administration of affairs in the hands of the Revolutionary Tribunal, or restore it to the Constitutional Government, which, though suspended, is not dissolved, nor without hopes of being able to resume its authority. For the present, it is agreed, that the Tribunal shall remain another month in office, under the title of *National Liquidatory Commission*; with express orders to collect all the confiscated property, and apply it to the support of Establishments *for the encouragement of industry, the prevention of poverty, and the promotion of general happiness*,* which, notwithstanding such effectual means to introduce it, is still, to the great astonishment of the lower classes of the People, as distant as ever.

But though the minds of the public are thus buoyed up with hopes of future happiness, they are not the less exposed to present remorse and anxiety. It is not in the power of their Leaders to conceal from them, that they are considered as a worthless and degenerate People, by every part of Europe. Holland, the ancient Ally of Geneva, looks upon the present Magistrates, as a set of Banditti, and in order to preserve the property of those, who are trembling under their tyranny, has put it into sequestration. Some of the principal trading Towns of Germany have prohibited all commercial intercourse with them. The Swiss have placed guards along their frontiers, to prevent the entrance of all persons concerned in the Revolution, or who were in arms while it was carrying on; and refuse them admittance with as much care, as if they were infected with the plague.†

But though these are facts too notorious to be concealed, the present Government endeavours to persuade the deluded
 I 2 People,

* Besides this, I am informed, that the new Commission has it in contemplation to lay such taxes, as, eventually, will tend to equalize all private fortunes, and restore the *Golden Age*, which, the People is told, will be the *beginning of the reign of Equality, and the completion of the Revolution*.

† Since the date of this letter, I have heard that the severity of these measures had been considerably relaxed; but they clearly shew what the Powers who adopted them, think of the Revolution.

People, that, however they are abhorred by their immediate neighbours and connexions, they are not without friends and admirers, at a distance. For this purpose, on the first of last month, they gave orders for a Civic Feast, in which, in allusion to the compliment lately paid them by the *French*, and to shew themselves not unworthy of a comparison with the great Republic of the new World, they pompously displayed the *American* flag, and with great effrontery placed it next to their own. It was easy indeed, to see shame and remorse, painted on the countenance of every person present at the ceremony. But what are we to think of a People, which retains no quality of virtue, but the consciousness of guilt, nor any mark of courage, but the obstinacy of perseverance?

There is now hardly one *Genevan* of property, or education, who has not severely felt the effects of the Revolution. In fact, if to the former 508 victims, we add the last 343, we shall find, that it has swept away nearly one half of those who composed the General Assembly, before the late introduction of about 1000 Natives, and nearly the same number of Foreigners.

To complete the shocking picture, the *French* soldiers themselves, who were in some degree the instruments of the Revolution, could not refrain from tears, at the bare recital of some of the scenes, which took place in the course of it. In spite of the barbarous orders of *Soulavie*, the neighbouring Municipalities openly protected such as were fortunate enough to make their escape. Even the Leaders of the parties in *Paris*, the cruel authors of all our misery, affected to be moved at it, and either because they had not shared in the plunder, or because the *Genevese* had so far out-done them on their own principles, or perhaps because they were alarmed at the abhorrence, which these events have excited against their System, in every part of *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *England*, condemned the Revolution; and, if I am rightly informed, one of the Committees in *Paris*, has written to its imprudent and precipitate disciples, to put an end to excesses so injurious to the cause, and the *Genevese* Minister in *France* is indefatigable in his endeavours, to dissuade his Constitu-

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ents from imitating the measures of *Robespierre*, which must, sooner or later, estrange from them the only Ally, their conduct has not already deprived them of.*

We have now a complete distinct view, of every part of the inundation which has overwhelmed the unfortunate *Geneva*. Beginning with the slight, and apparently unimportant alteration made in the Constitution, by the introduction of the right of *Universal Suffrage*, in 1792, we may trace it through all the stages of gradually increasing violence, till it attained its full height of fury and devastation, in 1794, and had completely swept away every rule of social order, and every vestige of social happiness.

The first intimation we had of its approach, was the adoption of the modest and benevolent term of *Citizen*, which the Authors of our ruin used in their intercourse with each other, and under colour of which, they succeeded in establishing an equality of political rights: but the pupils of the Jacobins, soon shewed themselves worthy of their masters, and, from the *equalization of rights*, proceeded with systematic regularity, through all the intermediate stages of plunder, proscription, and murder, to their great object, the *Equalization of property*.†

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* Among the proofs of the disapprobation of the French, they have reprinted the spirited proclamation of the Great Council of *Berne*, which the Reader will find at length, page 31. A Deputy of the Convention, who visited some of the Departments, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, lately expressed similar sentiments of its Revolution, and, though invited to come and receive the fraternal embrace, refused to enter the Town.—The Resident who succeeded *Soulavie*, is one of the Moderate Party; and the first step taken by him, was to send his predecessor, under a strong guard, to Paris, to answer for his conduct.

† It is worthy of remark, that in the language, and familiar idiom of the European Nation, which is most distinguished in modern times, for the vigilance with which it watches over its political rights, the terms of *Liberty and Property* are, on almost all occasions, found united. In truth, it must be obvious to every observer, that the *Jacobinical* Leaders and Teachers of this, as well as of former ages, have never been able completely to attach the lower classes of Society to their cause, till they have held out a *more equal distribution of property*, as one of the immediate objects, and necessary consequences, of their plan.—Unable to comprehend the structure of that vast and complicated fabric, of which they are, in fact, the most important part, though treated in the forms of language, as the most inconsiderable, those classes listen with very little interest,

It is extremely probable, that the Leaders of the Revolution were not, at first, aware of the consequences of what they were doing in 1792, or of the dangers to which the introduction of the French doctrines exposed them; and that, if it had been possible at that time to shew them the series of horrors, and crimes, into which they would be progressively led, they would have shuddered at the thought of what it is now their boast to have effected. But however this may be, it is at least certain, that the conspiracy was at that period only in the bud; and it is easy
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interest, to refined metaphysical discussions of *abstract Right*, and are hardly thankful for any addition to their political importance, which does not, in some form or other, tend to the acquisition or increase of property, and consequently of those enjoyments, which in the apprehension of the greater part of them, are the only purposes, for which property can rationally be collected. But when they are told, that under the new System, the superfluities, now wasted by the unfeeling extravagance of the Rich, *will be restored to the Poor*, and applied, with scrupulous fidelity, to their relief and support; that those who are now obliged to earn their daily subsistence by their daily toil, will, under the auspicious influence of that System, be enabled to live in comfort, with little exertion of their own, they greedily catch at the bait; each of them is bribed by his own selfishness, and they throw their whole weight into the scale of those, whose language is so alluring to their avidity, and so consoling to their distresses.

Their Seducers, however, are careful to conceal from them the extent, to which they mean to apply their doctrines. They are careful to conceal from them, that, by a law anterior to all human institutions, the natural state of the human race, is a state of labour: that property is nothing but the fruit of that labour: that to secure to each individual, the enjoyment of that fruit, it is essentially necessary, that, by the fundamental Laws of every human community, *Property be absolutely inviolable*; that those Laws are perfect, and the Community which lives under them, free and happy, in proportion only as Property is secured from the lawless attack of the Freebooter on the one hand, or the capricious rapacity of Despotism on the other; that the inviolability of Property is the great incitement to Industry, as the different degrees of Industry, are, originally, the sole causes of the unequal distribution of Property; that this inequality of distribution is both cause and effect; and as it owes its being to Property, so, in its turn, it gives birth to ten thousand new modes of employment, by which new Property is created, and new industry excited, until by an apparently infinite series of reciprocal action and mutual reproduction, the great System of Social Life, with all its harmonious relations and beautiful dependencies, is completely formed; that consequently, to attack the unequal distribution, is to attack the inviolability of Property; it is to unravel the web, and
send

to conceive, that under a Government so feeble as ours then was, it would have been difficult to establish the existence of it, by such evidence, as a Court of Justice requires. Not that this difficulty would, under any other circumstances than those, under which the old Government then stood, have justified it in not making the attempt; but the Reader will recollect, that we were then entirely surrounded by the territory of France, that her troops were at our gates, and waited only for such an opportunity as that measure would have afforded, to enter them, and violently annex our Republic to their own.

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send us back to the times of the Freebooter and the Despot, when Men are few, because Industry is unrewarded, and are miserable, because Property is unsafe.

That such are necessarily the *ultimate consequences* of their principles, the Jacobins of every age know perfectly well; but in no instance, has it been their object to push their principles to their *ultimate consequences*; such a slight and temporary suspension of the laws of Society, such a partial *disorganization*, (to use the jargon of the modern School) as will put them into the seats of those in whose hands power or property are now lodged, is all they wish for, or aim at: more would defeat their purpose; and he must be, not only a negligent reader of History, but an inattentive observer of what passes in our own times, and in our own neighbourhood, who does not know, that those who raise themselves to greatness by violating the great principles of Social Order, are as anxious, when they feel themselves firm in their seats, to restore and maintain those principles, and punish every imitation of their own conduct, or application of their own doctrines, as severely, as if they were the legitimate possessors of the situations they have usurped.

In truth, no Revolution, effected upon *Jacobinical* principles, has ever had, or ever can have, any other effect, than that of transferring property and power into new hands, at the expence of justice, humanity, private happiness, and public tranquillity. On all such occasions, the great Mass of the People, whose interest is the pretext, as its credulity is the instrument of the Revolution, has ever found, and ever will find, that "*the holy duty of Insurrection* (to use the words of the Genevan "*Tribunal*) *is turned against the Insurgents*:" it will discover, by the tone of its new Masters, that every thing around it has changed, except its own condition; and will return, disappointed and mortified, to its former situation, with nothing to console it for the interruption of its happiness, and the loss of its innocence. In Geneva, where the people of property have all been either plundered or driven away, the industrious poor already compare their situation to that of a Town on the Banks of a River, the inhabitants of which have, in a fit of madness, turned the stream into another bed.

It is distressing to humanity to reflect, that a fate so melancholy should have been reserved for a city so distinguished as Geneva was, for the generous and benevolent spirit of its inhabitants, and the alacrity with which those in easy circumstances always stepped forward to relieve the wants, and alleviate the distresses of their fellow-citizens; where, in short, the Syndic *Cayla* was not the only person, who devoted a large proportion of his income to the poor, and, in the administration of it, considered himself as only their Steward. Nor was the manner in which this beneficent spirit distributed its bounty, less amiable than the spirit itself. Pains were taken to anticipate the calls of Poverty, and its distresses were relieved, with the most attentive delicacy. It is a certain fact, that the Annual Fund, which was voluntarily provided at Geneva for the relief of the Poor, including public and private subscriptions, endowments, and donations of every kind, was seldom less, and not unfrequently, more than the whole revenue of the State; and that nearly a fifth part of the population of the Republic, was supported by the contributions of the rest;—of those, in short, who have since fallen sacrifices to the blind and brutal fury of the objects of their bounty.* Besides this, there was nothing in Geneva upon which the spirit of reform could operate; there was no rich and indolent Clergy to be plundered, no deep-rooted abuses to be removed, no feudal tenures to be abolished, no Bastille to be destroyed, no proud Nobility to be humbled: the wealthiest and most ancient families had no superiority of rank over the newest or poorest; the distinction of *Patrician* and *Plebeian* was unknown, and, by our fundamental Laws, *no Genevan could claim any pre-eminence over his fellow-citizens, except what he might derive from a temporary elevation to office by their free choice.*

With

* In the midst of the confusion and distress, which the late Revolution occasioned, the native benevolence of the Genevese character was still conspicuous. A subscription being opened for the relief of the poor, those who had been already stripped of a considerable part of their property, contributed to it a portion of what they had saved, from pillage or confiscation; and the subscription amounted to several thousand *louis-d'ors*, in a very few days.

With respect to the application of the public Revenue; the scrupulous economy of the Magistrates who managed it, if inferior to any thing, was only inferior to their disinterestedness, of which there needs no other proof, than the first step taken by their successors, was to double, and, in some instances, to treble the salaries of their offices; so that the salaries of the Councils and Magistrates, which had hitherto amounted to about 7000 Crowns only, were suddenly raised to 50000; that is to say, to a moiety of the whole annual revenue of the Republic: And yet these salaries, thus doubled and trebled, were insufficient to support their extravagance, or satiate their rapacity.† They have even confessed, that, in the course of the first seven weeks, they disbursed, that is to say, they dissipated, 17,000 louis-d'ors, and, consequently, that out of 37,000 louis-d'ors, which, they say, was the share of the public in the specie, goods, and plate, which had been confiscated, there are now only 20,000 remaining in the Revolutionary Treasury; though the whole 37,000 is a sum, very far short of what that share ought to have been.†

The smallness of the Theatre on which this Revolutionary Tragedy was acted, makes it, perhaps, more easy to comprehend the management, and connexion of the scenery exhibited in the course of it.

It cannot fail, therefore, to engage the attention of every man, who, like You, Sir, views with a philosophical eye, the wonderful changes with which the Revolutionary spirit threatens the Christian world, and in order to discover, if

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possible,

† During the whole course of the Revolution, the chiefs were constantly giving, and receiving entertainments, of the most expensive kind, which were paid for out of the public purse, and usually ended in the grossest, and most disgusting debauchery; while the subalterns quartered themselves upon the more opulent Citizens, whose cellars, as well as every other part of their houses, they used at their discretion.

* The Accounts were published on the 10th of September; and contain articles which are almost incredible. They are in fact little more than a list of *breakfasts, dinners, suppers, syrups, liqueurs, foreign wines, beer, orgeat, lemonade, pipes, tobacco, hair-powder, pomatum, ribbands, and wash-balls*, for the use of the public Functionaries. Besides these, there are charges of different sums paid to them in advance, beyond their salaries; and there is one charge of 6 Louis and a half, for *fire-engines to disperse the women*.

possible, the termination of those changes, endeavours to trace them up to their first causes : and every such man must see with alarm, both for himself and for his fellow-creatures, that the most probable result of them will be, to prepare mankind, when they can no longer bear the capricious tyranny of the Mob, to submit, with the sullen patience of despair, to the will of a single Despot.

Among the many salutary truths, which may be collected from the Revolution, of which I have given an imperfect, but, I hope, not an uninteresting sketch, the following appear to me to be entitled to the serious consideration of your Countrymen.

1. That a single Revolution, if conducted with moderation, and not carried too far, may sometimes prove the foundation of Liberty ; but that a second, and all successive Revolutions, are the certain bane and destruction of it ; for the inevitable consequence of all such events, is to make the people indifferent to liberty ; and indifference, we know, is soon succeeded by disgust, as disgust is easily increased into aversion.

2. That however a Nation may be accustomed to civil commotions, a Revolution, in the modern sense of the term, is certainly the greatest evil that can befall it.

3. That the first Authors of every such Revolution, are uniformly the second victims to it.

4. That the moral character of the most virtuous Nation, affords no security whatever, that Revolutionary Doctrines, if suffered to be propagated in it, will have a less pernicious influence upon its manners, than upon those of any other Nation. It is impossible that those doctrines can take root in any such Nation, without producing a complete, and radical change in its character. It is barely two months since the Genevese deservedly possessed the reputation of a brave and humane People. One single night of Revolution, by putting the arms which had been wrested from the people of property, into the hands of those who possessed nothing, instantly changed the former into dastardly cowards, and the latter into ferocious beasts of prey.

5. That

5. That wherever a Revolution upon French Principles makes its appearance, it will infallibly begin, at the very point at which the French ended; viz. by making *terror the order of the day*, by destroying religion, and the order of Society; and by exposing property to promiscuous pillage, and the owners of it to proscription and destruction.

6. That the fate of the civilized part of the World, and indeed, of human nature itself, depends, at this critical moment, upon the conduct of the People of Property. They cannot now be ignorant of their danger; and they may be assured, that timidity and disunion are more ruinous to their cause than any exertions of their Enemies, and that the moment they suffer their resolution to be shaken, their ruin is inevitable.

7. That the new Revolutionary Doctrines are more destructive in free States than elsewhere; because free States have nothing to add to Liberty but the abuse of it, and consequently, nothing to adopt from such doctrines, but the excesses to which they lead.

8. That it is plain from the example of Geneva, that free States are the most exposed to the introduction of those principles; because it is in free States only, that the forms of Government, give an opportunity of turning liberty into licentiousness, and licentiousness into crimes of the deepest dye.

9. That every Nation which has the happiness to enjoy a temperate and well-regulated Liberty, may be assured, that the only means to preserve it, is to rise in a mass, and repress the first attempt to abuse it, with as much vigour as they would oppose the first encroachments of Power.

With these reflexions I shall close this melancholy narrative; and I am sure, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to describe to You, the feelings that rise in the bosom of a Genevan, who once fondly loved his country, when he feels himself bound by his duty as an Historian, and by the sacred regard he owes to truth, to hold up the conduct of that country, and the calamities that have followed from it, as a

warning to the rest of mankind. That duty I have discharged to the best of my power, and my painful task is over. The Revolution is now complete; it has already assumed the general hue of all such events; and the history of Geneva will hereafter be the history of the great Planet to which she is become a satellite. Her boasted independence is now an empty sound; and her sons have nothing left, but to lament her fate in silence.

I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

London, Jan. 1, 1795.

BY the last accounts from Geneva, it appears, that since the fall of the Mountaineers and their patron *Soulavie*, all fears of an invasion from France are laid aside: that Nation entered on the 7th of last September into a new solemn engagement, to take no step that shall, in the smallest degree, affect the independence of its neighbour. For this engagement, however, we are not so much indebted to any new principle of Justice operating on the minds of the French, as to their persuasion, that Geneva is in reality, though not in name, their own; and that their tools, the Revolutionists, have gone such lengths, and committed themselves so completely, as to be a much better garrison for them, than any number of their own troops could be.

The tyrants of that unfortunate city have therefore sheathed the sword, and now turn their whole attention to the prosecution of the system of quiet plunder, which their success has enabled them to establish. For this purpose, and either to introduce the equalizing principle more effectually, or perhaps to shew the world, how far they can go beyond their masters, they passed a Decree on the 28th of September, by which they laid the same enormously unjust tax, upon the Capital of every man's fortune, which the French financiers had been satisfied with levying upon one *annual income* only.

With this view, after dividing all the people of property into three Classes, which they distinguished by the names of *Aristocrates*, *Indifferents*, and *Patriots*, they applied to each of those classes, a scale of Assessment, proceeding in geometrical progression, by means of which each individual

dual was rated, not according to the value of his Estate, but also according to an arbitrary estimate of his political opinions.—With respect to the first Class, the Assessment is made on all fortunes amounting to £.300 sterling or upwards, and increases as they increase, till it reaches 40 per cent. on the Capital. Upon the Estates of the Indifferents, it begins at £.300, but does not extend to more than 30 per cent. on the Capital.—The Estates of the Patriots are wholly exempted under the value of £.800 sterling, and are liable only to the amount of £.25 per cent. on capitals above that sum.

The projectors of this extraordinary measure, have not failed to represent it as suggested by necessity, and from its severity, not likely to be repeated. But it is affirmed that they have already in several instances violated their own rule; and even though they should adhere to it more strictly in future, it is easy to see that under this species of Agrarian Law, (the only one which a State possessed of so small a territory could adopt) the ruin of every Genevan in easy circumstances is inevitable; and if it be continued, every incitement to industry and honest exertion, must be removed; though the authors of it are not ashamed to assert, that in order to realize the good effects of it, it is absolutely necessary to support it by a general disposition to industry. *In a Republic, say they, that is well constituted, or desires to be so, indolence is a crime against the State, and is not too severely punished by infamy and banishment.*

In the mean time, the consequence of the measure has been to reduce the little property that was left in land or houses, to half its value. The unhappy Proprietors pay what is demanded of them, without opposition or remonstrance, and are glad to purchase with what remains, leave to quit the abode of such jealous and rapacious Tyranny.*

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* One Gentleman was taxed to the amount of £.16,000 sterling: among others Mr. J. Tronchin, though possessed of a landed estate of the value of upwards of £.20,000 sterling; rather chose to abandon it, than to be plundered of his ready money, and by staying, held his other property

On one account indeed, this increasing depopulation is desirable; but on another it is to be regretted, as it coincides with, and is indeed a part of, the plan of the Leaders of the Revolution, who rejoice at it, and consider it as the only means of confirming their triumph, and making their system permanent. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*—

In the mean time, those Revolutionists whose fortunes brought them within the line of the Assessment, execrate a system which makes them the spoil of their own victory, and avow

property exposed to subsequent depredations. It is confidently said, that the Assessment has produced about £.600,000 sterling; amounting to nearly a third of the whole property in *Geneva*, and levied in a Town, the greater part of whose inhabitants had already lost four-fifths of their fortunes, by the depreciation of the assignats, in which the French pay the interest of their public debt, to those of their foreign creditors, whose payments they have not suspended.

† Mr. *Pestre*, a very zealous partizan of the Revolution, has lately been bold enough to circulate a pamphlet in *Geneva* with his name affixed to it, which completely substantiates the facts stated in the preceding Letters. The discoveries it makes are the more worthy of notice, as they exhibit a perfect picture of the remorse, that uniformly follows the commission of such crimes, as have been perpetrated in *Geneva*.

After shewing from ancient History, and even from the history of *Geneva*, that banishment for political offences has, at all times, been highly injurious to the State that adopted it, “It remains,” says the author, “for me to give my opinion on the propriety of recalling those, whom we have driven into exile, and which I shall do with all the freedom of a known friend of Liberty and Equality. In my opinion, justice, prudence, and humanity, unite in favour of the measure. The state of the Arts among us, our Trade, our Manufactures loudly call for it. Nothing else can put a period to our misery. There is not now a single person in *Geneva*, who can look without tears at the long list of Citizens, whom the frenzy of the moment has forced to take shelter in foreign Countries. What crime had they been guilty of? They had, say You, formed a design to overturn the very Constitution, which they had lately accepted: But what proof is there of any such design? None. Not a title of any was suggested, in the examinations which some of them underwent. This pretended plot therefore, has vanished like that of 1770. The discovery of it was announced with boldness, and held out to the public with confident assurance: But in vain does a candid and impartial Man endeavour to pursue the traces of it; they elude the search even of those whose business it was to detect and expose them. It was fortunate for the Tribunal, that, as they say themselves, They followed no general rules, and were guided by no legal principles. This

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avow their discontent and disappointment in the most open manner. To appease them, and to divert their attention, an
Extraordinary

“ acknowledgement is perfectly new in the annals of justice, and renders every other defence of their conduct superfluous.—It is also said, that the banished Citizens were attached to Aristocracy; but Aristocracy no longer exists, and if it did, opinions are not cognizable by human Tribunals, and, under the reign of Liberty and Equality, ought not to be the subjects of legal prosecution. Besides, if an attachment to Aristocracy be a crime, it is a crime of which *Rousseau* himself is guilty; for, in one of his letters, he expressly says, *I give a most decided preference to Aristocracy, over every other form of Government.*”

“ When I look over the list of Citizens expelled and banished their native country, I cannot but think, that the real object of their punishment was to expel and banish our trade with them, and to remove Geneva itself to some foreign country. We have in fact thrown our City into our own lake, from whence some wiser people than ourselves will raise it. The artist will naturalise his talents wherever he settles himself; new manufactures will compleat the ruin of ours, and the spirit of commercial enterprise, before which all difficulties vanish, will turn the channels, which have hitherto brought wealth and plenty to Geneva, into the adopted Countries of our unfortunate Exiles.”

Since this pamphlet, several publications, of a still bolder nature, have appeared; from one of which, called *Open your Eyes*, an extract will not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ Tell us, ye creatures of Roberspierre, you who visited him in Paris, and corresponded with his accomplices—those seven of you in particular, who secretly plotted the insurrection of the 18th of July—tell me—by what authority did you presume to decide on the fate of your Country? Where are the conspiracies, the plots, to which I lent a credulous ear, and which you solemnly promised to bring immediately to light? The People is impatient to have some account of them,—that People whom you have led from error to error, and crime to crime, and now leave, a prey to the consequences of their folly, and the agonies of their remorse.”

“ And you, Bouquet, &c. &c. do you not see the avenging Furies, waving their horrid torches around you?—Do you not see the rivers of blood you have shed? In vain would you wash out the deep stains of innocent blood, in which you have imbrued your hands. In spite of all your endeavours, they still appear on them. In vain do you hope to escape the punishment due to your crimes; your sentence is already pronounced, and you may read it in the eyes of all around you,” &c. &c.

The effect of these pamphlets has already been to procure either the reversal, or the suspension of several of the sentences passed by the Revolutionary Tribunal. This change of circumstances has not escaped the observation of the Constitutional Government, and has induced them to make an effort, though perhaps an ineffectual one, to support a system, which on a former occasion they disavowed.

“ By

Extraordinary Commission was issued, to enquire into and punish all applications of any part of the public plunder, to the use of particular individuals. But though this measure professed to fall on petty delinquents only; yet every man of reflexion saw at once that it was a farce; nor have the Commissioners yet dared to enter upon their offices, the principal criminals being afraid of setting so dangerous a precedent; and, on that account, determined to let smaller crimes go unpunished, however notorious.

Neither this partiality, nor the cause of it, have escaped the observation of the Revolutionists. They complain of it in terms of the strongest indignation. But an event has taken place much more alarming to the leaders, who, thinking that they had excluded all persons not of their party from the General Assembly, ventured, at last, to call it together for the purpose of electing a public Treasurer. The members, shocked at the enormous waste made in the finances, since the Revolution, rechose the former Treasurer, who was one of the Magistrates deposed in 1792. To the great mortification as well as astonishment of the Demagogues, he had at least 500 votes more than any other candidate; but he thought it prudent to decline so dangerous a preference. The Election of this Gentleman was the effect of an apprehension generally entertained by the Revolutionists, and expressly stated in a pamphlet published by one of them, that the leaders meant to make their retreat with the whole of the plunder. *Let us take care, said he, not to entrust the management of our finances, of our last, our only resource, to such impure and blood-thirsty men. Let us, as we tender the very existence of our*
Country,

By a proclamation issued on the 5th of December, the *Syndics and Council* peremptorily forbid the Citizens called *Aristocrats and Indifferents*, as well as those called *Mountaineers*, to form themselves again into Clubs or Societies, and insist that, in order to preserve public tranquillity and security, such citizens as are desirous of giving their sentiments to the public, will not abuse the liberty of the press, to spread discontent, and inflame the spirit of discord, by declaiming on the necessity of restoring harmony, confidence and union, under pain of such punishment, as such offences deserve.

It is plain from these circumstances that the spirit of the Revolution is nearly extinct. But how shall we remove what it has introduced, or restore what it has destroyed?

Country, watch with unremitting vigilance, over these men of blood, these bankrupts in character, as well as in fortune, and to prevent them, if possible, from adding the worst of sacrileges to the list of their other enormities.

From this manner of treating their chiefs, it is plain that a very considerable number of the Revolutionists would gladly sacrifice the more violent of their accomplices, and lay upon their heads the punishment due to their own offences. The demagogues of course are alarmed to find that the Members of the General Assembly, whom they thought prepared to go any lengths with them, should take advantage of the mode of voting by ballot, to desert the principles they avow in the Clubs, and to give so convincing though indirect a proof, of their aversion to the Revolution.

In the midst of this scene of tyranny and devastation, the unfortunate victims flattered themselves that the new French Resident, when he presented his credentials, would take that opportunity of recommending to the imitation of Geneva, the system of moderation, at present adopted by the Convention; and that the influence of France, which had been so often and so fatally exerted against them, would for once be employed in their favour: but he contented himself with coldly censuring the conduct of his predecessor, and assuring them, that "as France will never permit other nations to interfere in its domestic concerns, so would it scrupulously abstain from intermeddling in those of other nations, particularly in those of an independent ally."

What an abominable mixture of cruelty, hypocrisy, and irony, on the part of a Nation, which, after openly violating every law, divine and human, and exerting all her strength to plunge us into an abyss of misery, of which modern History affords no other example, has waited for the last struggles of the expiring victim, to tell it with contemptuous coldness, that she can only be a spectator of its distress, and is restrained by the *law of Nations* from interfering with more than her wishes; though, at the same time, she refuses to give us so slight a proof of the existence of even those

those wishes, a recommendation of her own boasted moderation would afford?

To make the cruelty of such conduct still more poignant, and perhaps to diminish the abhorrence which their own barbarities have excited, by giving the imitation of them an air of ridicule, the *French* have lately thrown the Revolution of Geneva into the shape of a Farce, and exhibited it on one of the Paris Theatres! The Revolutionary Tribunal was represented exactly in the manner described in page 26—with every additional circumstance that the ingenuity of malignant scorn could suggest, to heighten the effect.

Such is the manner in which *France* has completed her detestable work, in the small, but once most interesting Republic of *Geneva*! and such is the return of applause, of gratitude, and of *fraternization*, which she reserves for future converts to her system! May the dreadful lesson produce its due effect! and for the sake of human happiness, may the fate of one victim be sufficient to atone for the offence of those who still listen to her doctrines, and in spite of experience wish to adopt her principles, and imitate her conduct!

Feliciter sapit, qui alieno periculo sapit.

MARCH 27, 1795.

The last letters from Geneva, written about the middle of February, announce, that this unhappy City is still at the discretion of its oppressors, who, however, from several circumstances, now seem to be more and more apprehensive of the punishment justly due to their crimes. It is said, that Bousquet and his accomplices have already proceeded to impute to each other the perpetration of them; and that, not daring to shew themselves in the day-time for fear of being publicly insulted, they try, however, to keep up the spirits of such of their adherents, as they find to be fluctuating, by assuring them, that in France the system of terror, and the Jacobins, will soon be restored, as the only means by which that Republic can be maintained.

Mean time, the Revolutionists of Geneva who are the least corrupted in their principles, appear by degrees to attach themselves to the few honest men, who still have the courage not to despair entirely, although they want the spirit and vigour of mind, necessary for shaking off the

yoke under which they groan : but hitherto, nothing has taken place, except a mixture of half-stifled remorse, laudable but ineffectual good wishes, and weak and ill-directed efforts, the care of carrying which into effect, they leave to Providence. In a word, the last Revolution of France has put a stop to that of Geneva, but hitherto has by no means given it any retrograde motion.

Thus the censure which the successors of Robespierre seemed to throw upon the last Revolution of Geneva, appears, at present, to have been only an additional snare laid for the credulity of those who have been, and still are, the victims of it. They flattered themselves that the new Committees of Paris, fully apprised of the many and great evils, which their Republic had occasioned to ours, would readily have addressed some remonstrance on the subject to the Genevese Jacobins, which could not have failed to produce an instantaneous effect; the more so, as it was certainly expected by the Genevese, and, until now, has contributed to keep them in a state of inaction. But far from such Remonstrance having ever been sent by the Committees of Paris, as soon as they heard that the Resident *Adet*, successor of *Soulavie*, appeared most deeply to deplore the work of his predecessor, and that his resentment, which he took no pains to hide, had begun to inspire the oppressed sufferers with a glimpse of hope, they recalled him to Paris, under the pretence of sending him Ambassador to America.

From thence one might conclude that the French Mission to Geneva is now calculated as a preliminary step to that of the United States. May the strength of their Government, our experience, and the prudence of their people, preserve them from reaping the bitter fruits that we have! . . .

THE END.